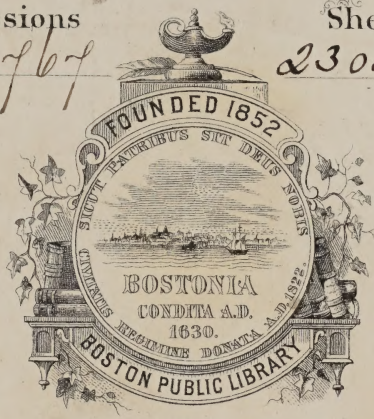
Accessions
426.767

Shelf No.
2304.61



Received Mar 2, 1889

S.DEC 27

W. JAN 8
S. MAY 28

S NOV 27

POLITICAL HISTORY SINCE 1815

(EXCLUDING THE UNITED STATES).

A SYLLABUS OF LECTURES

PREPARED FOR USE IN THE

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.

BY

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, PH. D.,

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,

AND

DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH. D.,

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS.

BOSTON:

W. J. SCHOFIELD, PRINTER, 105 SUMMER STREET.

1889.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1889,
BY CHARLES H. LEVERMORE AND DAVIS R. DEWEY,
In the Clerk's Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

73.86.
426.767
Mar. 2. 1889

PREFACE.

This book is intended to serve as a basis for a course of lectures upon the outlines of political history in the nineteenth century. As used in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it is placed in the hands of the students, who follow in its pages the oral lectures upon the same subjects. The lecturer, feeling that his hearers already know the skeleton of his topic, is at liberty to provide the flesh, blood, and life, wherever and however it may seem best. The students are required also to read selections from the references and from apposite articles in the current reviews and magazines, and to submit abstracts of this reading, periodically, to the instructor. It will be seen, therefore, that no attempt has been made to refer to works that are not to be found in a comparatively small class-library. No books have been quoted which are not easily obtainable at a small cost. At the same time, those who are near large libraries can readily expand the reference work, if they so desire. The individual student into whose hands the book may fall, and who may desire more comprehensive guidance, is recommended to resort to the bibliographies of modern history already published in Dr. G. Stanley Hall's "Methods of Teaching History" (2nd ed.), and in Prest. Charles Kendall Adams's "Manual of Historical Literature."

C. H. L.
D. R. D.

Boston, Mass., Feb. 1, 1889.

LECTURES.

		Page.
	Introductory Lecture: Races, Governments, and Religions of Men.	1
I–II.	England and Her Empire. . . .	8
III–IV.	English Political Parties.	18
V.	Canada. The Cape Colony. . . .	27
VI.	English Colonies in Australasia and Polynesia.	32
VII.	The Asiatic Empire of England. . .	34
VIII.	China. Japan.	41
IX.	The Russian Empire.	45
X–XI.	The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. . .	49
XII–XIII.	The Ottoman Empire and the Revolted Christian States of the Balkan Peninsula.	57
XIV.	The Present Empire of the Ottoman Turks. The Eastern Question. . . .	69
XV.	German Confederations and the Growth of Prussia.	72
XVI.	The German Empire, 1871–. . . .	78
XVII.	France, 1815–1870.	81
XVIII.	The Third Republic, 1870–. . . .	86
XIX.	Italy, and the Struggle for Unity. . .	90
XX.	Switzerland. The Netherlands. Belgium.	95
XXI.	The Scandinavian Kingdoms. . .	98
XXII.	The Iberian Peninsula: Portugal (with Brazil). Spain.	101
XXIII.	Spanish America, or the Revolted Colonies of Spain.	107
XXIV.	The African Continent. Colonization and Emigration.	112

BOOKS FOR GENERAL REFERENCE.

American Almanac. 1888.

Barker's Trade and Finance Manual. 1888.

Brace.—The Races of the Old World. New York, 1870.

Dorchester.—The Problem of Religious Progress. New York, 1881.

Ewald.—The Last Century of Universal History. 1767–1867. London, 1868.

Freeman.—The Historical Geography of Europe. 2 vols. London, 1882.

Fyffe.—A History of Modern Europe. Vols. I and II. New York, 1887.

Labberton.—New Historical Atlas. New York, 1887.

Lalor.—Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and United States History.

Latham.—The Varieties of Man. London, 1850.

Latham.—Russian and Turk. London, 1878.

Lodge.—A History of Modern Europe. The Student's Series. New York, 1886.

Hazell's Annual Cyclopædia. 1887, 1888, 1889.

McCarthy.—A History of Our Own Times,—from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the General Election of 1880. 2 vols. New York.

Meyer.—Hand-Lexikon des Allgemeinen Wissens. Leipzig, 1885.

Morris.—The Aryan Race. Chicago, 1888.

Mulhall.—The Progress of the World. London, 1880.

Muller.—Political History of Recent Times, 1816–1875. With Special Reference to Germany. 1882.

Ploetz.—Epitome of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Translated, with Extensive Additions, by W. H. Tillinghast. Boston, 1884.

Putzger.—Historische Schul-Atlas. Bielefeld und Leipzig, Velhagen und Klasing, 1887.

SERGEANT.—The Government Year Book. 1888.

STANFORD.— Compendium of Geography and Travel. London, 1882. 4 vols., namely:

BATES.— Central and South America.

JOHNSON.—Africa.

KEANE.—Asia.

RAMSAY.— Europe.

STIELER'S SCHUL-ATLAS. Gotha, 1887.

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR BOOK.— Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the Civilized World. 1888.

VINCENT.— Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information. New York, 1883.

POLITICAL HISTORY SINCE 1815.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

RACES, GOVERNMENTS, AND RELIGIONS OF MEN.

I. RACES OF MANKIND.

1. Three broad, racial divisions of mankind,— the Negro, the Mongolian, the Caucasian.

"Topinard goes so far as to divide man into three distinct species. The first of these is the Mongolian, distinguished by a brachycephalic or short skull, by low stature, yellowish skin, broad, flat countenance, oblique eyes, contracted eyelids, beardless face, hair scanty, coarse, and round in section. The second is the Caucasian, with moderately dolichocephalic or long skull, tall stature, fair, narrow face, projecting on the median line, hair and beard abundant, light colored, soft, and somewhat elliptical in section. The third species is the Negro, with skull strongly dolichocephalic, complexion black, hair flat and rolled into spirals, face very prognathous, and with several peculiarities of bodily structure not necessary to name here. *Morris: The Aryan Race*, pp. 6, 7.

a. The Negro includes —

African Negroes, Bushmen, and Hottentots, Dravidians of India, Oceanic Negroes, or Melanesians, the Negritos, Pacific Ilanders, and the Australian aborigines, — the last five divisions perhaps presenting, in most instances, various degrees of mixture of Negro and Malay Mongolian bloods.

b. The Mongolian includes —

Chinese, Siberian aborigines, Tatars, Turks, Finns, Lapps, Basques, Eskimo, American Indians and Malays (perhaps mixed races).

c. The Caucasian, probably resulting in its present form, at least, from mixture of the other two, includes Hindoos, Persians, Semitic people of Asia Minor, Arabs and people of North Africa, all the people of Europe except Turks, Finns, Lapps, and Basques. Name "Aryan" applied to Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Kelts, Teutons, and Slavs.

d. European Caucasian peoples classified by differences of languages into four main divisions : —

Greek.

Latin (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Roumanian).

Teutonic (German, Dutch, Scandinavian, and English),

Slavonic (Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servians, Bulgarian).

e. Dark and fair Caucasians.

" Of the two sub-races which make up the Caucasian stock of mankind, the Xanthochroi, or fair white, are now found most typically displayed in the north of Europe, mainly in Denmark, Scandinavia, and Iceland. The Melanochroi, or dark whites, have their typical region in northern Africa and southwestern Asia. Between these regions an intimate mixture of the two types exists, endless intermediate grades being found ; though, as a rule, the Xanthochroic becomes more declared as we go north, and the Melanochroic as we go south." *Morris: The Aryan Race*, p. 12.

" What, then, was the origin of the two Caucasian sub-races ? In response to this question we may propound the views offered by Mr. J. W. Jackson, who advances the theory that the Semitic (or, as we prefer to consider, all the Melanochroi) is really a derivative from the Negro race; and the Aryan (or rather the Xanthochroi) is a derivative from the Mongolian. *Morris: The Aryan Race*, pp. 15, 16.

II. GOVERNMENTS.

1. All Aryan peoples have shown a tendency to organize a government with three characteristic features.

a. National chief, or *King*, with power more or less limited.

b. *Council*, of nobles, or aldermen.

c. *Assembly* of the whole people, or their representatives.

2. Governments gradually concentrate power upon the office of King,— Despotic Monarchy ; or upon the Council,— Aristocracy (not now existent) ; or upon the Assembly,—Democracy ; or upon all three organs of government in proportion,— Limited Monarchy, Republic, and Federal nations.

a. Despotic Monarchies. Power of National Chief limited only by force of custom and public opinion, or by fear of revolution.

Russia, China, Japan, all Mohammedan and savage nations.

b. Democracies. Powers of government concentrated within a parliamentary body representing the people, and controlled completely and speedily by majority votes of that people.

France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its Australian, Canadian, and South African colonies.

c. (1) Limited Monarchies. Fusion of hereditary monarchical principle with principle of government by parliamentary law expressed through council and popular assembly.

Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Italy, Greece, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and, in form, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Almost without exception, these nations are imitating England in the concentration of powers upon the popular assembly.

(2) REPUBLICS. Fusion of same principles as in (1), except that hereditary monarch is replaced by an executive chief elected by people for a limited term. See "Federal Republics"; also, in general, the republics of Central and South America, and, in form, France.

NOTE.—Mexico and the Republics of Southern and Central America, with exception of Chili, and the Argentine Republic, are OLIGARCHICAL REPUBLICS,— monopoly of power by factious combinations of powerful families and interests. The five Central American Republics, more nearly Democracies than the others in theory, are in reality more nearly Despotisms or Oligarchies.

d. FEDERATIONS. Unions of states (which conform in some large measure to the principle of government by parliamentary law) into one comprehensive national life under the traditional governmental forms (*vide* 1, above). Separation of organs of local government from those of national government. May be either monarchical or democratic in type.

(1) FEDERAL MONARCHIES. Austro-Hungary, and the German Empire.

(2) FEDERAL REPUBLICS. United States, Switzerland, Argentine Republic, Mexico, San Domingo, Venezuela. The Republic of Colombia, formerly a weak confederation under the federal form, is, since 1886, a centralized republic with some federal characteristics.

III. RELIGIONS.

1. NATURE WORSHIP. Crude primitive beliefs; Shinto religion of Japan among the most developed.

2. CONFUCIANISM. Ancestor-worship, state religion of China; rites observed by all, even by adherents of other religions; Buddhists and Taoists (Mystics); bulk of population is Buddhist.

3. BRAHMANISM. Hindu religion, a social organization, and a religious confederacy. In society, perpetuation of castes; in religion, combination of cultured philosophic faith of Brahmans with materialistic beliefs of inferior races; Brahman ideal, a life of ceremonial purity, self-discipline, and restraint; gradation of castes from low to high.

Each caste is, in a measure, a trade guild, a mutual insurance society, and a religious sect. *W. W. Hunter: The Indian Empire.*

4. BUDDHISM. Religion of good works; mortification of the will and of bodily desires. Monastic institutions; China, Japan, peninsula of Farther India, Tibet, Ceylon, Cashmere, Nepaul. *Monier Williams: Hinduism*, 72–76.

5. PARSEE. The worship of an Ideal Good under the image of Light; sacred writings, the Zend-Avesta. Scattered remnants of ancient Persian race, living for the most part in India.

6. ISLAM. or Mohammedanism. Creed, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Sacred writings, the Koran; sacred city, Mecca in Arabia.

Secular head of Islam, the Turkish Sultan, the Caliph (*i. e.*, follower, successor, of the Prophet).

Ecclesiastical head of Islamism,— under the Caliph, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, chief authority of the Ulema, the men learned in religion and law. *Statesman's Year Book*, 523.

Importance of Shereef of Mecca,— head of family of Mohammed, and Guardian of the Holy Temple, the Caaba, at Mecca. Importance of Ulema of Great Mohammedan Schools.

Turkish Empire, Persia, Afghanistan, Russian Turkestan, and parts of Siberia, China, southeastern part of European Russia, parts of India, states of northern and central Africa, and of the east coast of Africa.

Principal divisions:

a. Soonees, subjects of Turkish Empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Accept the Soonah, or oral traditions, in addition to the Koran, and pay equal honors to all Caliphs after Mohammed. *Stobart: Islam and its Founder*, 197–199.

b. Sheeah, subjects of Persian Empire, found also in India, Turkey, and the Soudan. Number about 20,000,000. Reject the Soonah, and regard Ali, the fourth Caliph (656–661), as the rightful successor of Mohammed. *Stobart*, 199, 200.

c. Wahahbees, people of Nejd, State in the center of the Arabian peninsula, founded about 1750. Reject all modern innovations and influences, and aim, first, at the revival of the exact beliefs and customs of primitive Islam; later, at unity and independence of Arabia. Political power broken in 1819. *Stobart*, 202.

d. Sultan of Morocco (lineal descendant of Ali) and his subjects adopt as a text-book of faith a commentary on the Koran by Sidi Bokhari.

e. Sufis, Mystics ; in India and Persia. *Stobart*, 201.

7. JUDAISM. Religion of the Jews. Monotheism its principle. Doctrines of "a chosen people," and of a future restoration to Palestine. Sacred writings, the Law and the Prophets, of the Old Testament. Sacred city, Jerusalem. Found in all parts of the world.

8. CHRISTIANITY. Origins of creed in Judaism, and in ancient Greek philosophy ; doctrine of the Messiah ; creed, Apostles' creed (see *Book of Common Prayer*); sacred writings, books of the Old and New Testaments, excluding the Apocrypha.

a. THE EASTERN CHRISTIAN CHURCH. Constantinople, religious capital ; principal divisions follow national lines, comprising the most ancient forms of Christian organization, as follows : —

(1) THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH. Absence of centralized hierarchical authority ; parochial clergy married ; monastic orders ; five patriarchates, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Moscow [*vide* (2), below] ; found in Greece. European Turkey, Georgia, and Asia Minor. *Stanley : History of Eastern Church*, 4–17.

(2) THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF RUSSIA. Offshoot of Greek church ; Czar supreme in church as in state ; office of Patriarch abolished by Peter the Great, and the Holy Synod substituted therefor ; beliefs and usages same in general as those of the Greek church. Number of dissenting communions,— the most considerable known as "Starovers," or Old Believers, more conservative than the National Church. The Orthodox Church of Montenegro is closely affiliated with the Russian Church.

Found in European and Asiatic Russia, the established church of the Russian nation. *Wallace : Russia*, 426–434.

(3) THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF BULGARIA. Offshoot of Greek Church.

Orthodox Churches of Slavonic peoples under the rule of Hungary are affiliated with groups (3), (4), and (5).

(4) THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF SERVIA. Offshoot of Bulgarian Church.

(5) THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ROUMANIA. Offshoot of Bulgarian Church.

(6) CHALDEAN OR NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS, in Kurdistan, on the western borders of Persia.

Admit authority of first two general councils of the primitive Christian Church; reject the third because that council condemned Nestorianism, a dispute about the nature of Jesus.

(7) The Armenian Church, in Armenia, and scattered throughout the northern part of Turkish empire.

Patriarchate of Etchmiazin, in Armenia, their sacred city. Reject authority of one out of the seven ancient general councils of the Christian Church.

(8) Church of Syria, or Jacobite Church.

Admit authority of first three general councils only. Differ from Greek Church concerning nature of Jesus. Patriarchate of Diarbekir; Sacred City, Antioch. The Christians of St. Thomas, in India, are classed with (7) and (8).

(9) Church of Egypt, or Coptic Church. Description same as for (7); Patriarch of Alexandria, head of church, lives at Cairo.

(10) Church of Abyssinia. Offshoot of Church of Egypt and stands with it; beliefs and usages more like those of ancient Jews than those of any other Christian church.

(11) Melchites. Name applied to churches of Asia Minor and Egypt which remain faithful to the Orthodox Greek Church, and are not affiliated with the National Churches of Syria, Egypt, Armenia, etc.

b. The Roman Christian Church. Developed in 16th century, out of mediæval European Church, which had gradually separated from Eastern Christian Church, between the 8th and the 12th centuries of our era. Rome, the religious capital. Strongly centralized hierarchical administration of the Church culminating in unlimited ecclesiastical power of Bishop of Rome, or Pope. Dogma of papal infallibility. Clerical celibacy. Monastic orders. Predominance of the Society of Jesus, commonly called "Jesuits."

Found in all parts of the world. Strongest in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Ireland, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and the nations of Central and South America. Divisions not assimilated:

(1) The Maronites, an ancient division of the Eastern Christian Church, belonging to the Syrian Church, and inhabiting Mt. Lebanon. In the 12th century (1181), attached to the Romish Church. Use an ancient ritual of their own. Inferior clergy allowed to marry. Found also in Egypt and Cyprus.

(2) Melchites. Some of the Melchites, though using the Greek rite, profess obedience to Rome.

(3) United Greeks, Bulgarians, Ruthenians, Chaldeans (Nestorians), Copts, Armenians, and Roumanians. Sec-

tions of the larger divisions of the Eastern Church, which have professed obedience to Rome. The local rites are used. In some, clergy are married, and communion is allowed to the laity. Service of United Roumanians is in the language of the people, the only instance of the kind in the Roman Church.

c. The Protestant Christian Church. Principally developed in the 16th century, from the mediæval European Church. Luther and Calvin. Essential principle, assertion of the independence of the individual judgment in deciding questions relating to faith and morals. Absence of uniform organization for church government. Principal divisions indicate common preferences for methods of action or expressions of belief.

Found in all parts of the world. Strongest in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden, Great Britain and colonies, and the United States.

Classified according to modes of church government, the principal divisions are —

(1) Episcopal, hierarchical government, including —

(*a*) The Anglican Church, the Established Church of England, and its representative in the United States, the Protestant Episcopal Church.

(*b*) The Methodist Episcopal Church, found mainly among English-speaking peoples. Originated in a great religious revival of the 18th century, in England.

(*c*) The Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, dating from the early Reformation period, and found in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

(2) Congregational, each church self-governing, including —

Baptists; immersion, a necessary mode of baptism.

Congregationalists, including Unitarians and Universalists.

Friends, commonly called Quakers.

Methodists.

Waldenses, and the Free Church of Italy, Italian Protestants.

(3) Presbyterian, a system of parliamentary church government, without bishops, including —

Presbyterians, including the Established Church in Scotland.

Lutherans and Reformed (Calvinist). Most of the Protestants of Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland, and France; the Consistory; Lutherans strong also in the United States.

Methodists.

Mennonites, Russian Protestants.

Total number of Christians, about 420 millions. Roman Christians, about 200 m.; estimates vary from 152 m. to 218 m. Protestant Christians, about 120 m.; estimates vary from 115 m. to 130 m. Eastern Christians, about 100 m. Buddhists, about 450 m. Brahmanist Hindus, about 190 m. Mohammedans, more than 200 m. Parsees, about 85,000. Jews, about 8 m.

LECTURES I-II.

ENGLAND AND HER EMPIRE.

REFERENCES: *Acland and Ransome: Political History of England to* 1887; London, 1888. *Amos: The Science of English Politics*, International Scientific Series, London, 1883. *Bright: History of England*, vols. iii, iv; London, 1888. *Buxton: The Imperial Parliament Series*, 8 vols.; London, 1885. Especially, *Baxter: England and Russia. Lorne: Imperial Federation. Lubbock: Representation. Richard and Williams: Disestablishment. English Citizen Series*, 13 vols.; London, 1883. Especially, *Chalmers: Local Government. Traill: Central Government. Walpole: Electorate and the Legislature. Walpole: Foreign Relations. Fielden: A Short Constitutional History of England;* London, 1882. *McCarthy: A History of Our Own Times, from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the General Election of* 1880, 2 vols.; New York. *McCarthy: The Epoch of Reform*, Epochs of Modern History Series. *Ward: Reign of Queen Victoria; A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress;* 2 vols.; London, 1887.

1. Component parts of the English Empire.
   a. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, including England, Wales, Scotland and outlying ilands, Ireland.
   b. The Iland (kingdom) of Man.

c. The Channel ilands (Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark). Area of *a*, *b*, and *c*, 120,832 sq. mi. A little smaller than the territory of New Mexico. Population, 37,000,000. Density, 303 to the sq. mi.

d. Colonies and Dependencies.

GENERAL REFERENCES: *Cotton and Payne: Colonies and Dependencies. E. J. Payne: European Colonies. Colonial Policy and Progress* in *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 403–559. *C. S. Salmon: The Crown Colonies of Great Britain. C. P. Lucas: Historical Geography of the British Colonies.*

1. Geographical distribution of English colonies.

For full list with date of acquisition, etc., see *Statesman's Year Book*, 286–289, and *Hazell* under *British Empire.*

Asia	1.84 m. sq. miles;	261 m. popul.
Africa	.45 m. sq. miles;	2.8 m. "
America . . .	3.64 m. sq. miles;	6.2 m. "
Australasia .	3.26 m. sq. miles;	3.6 m. "
Europe (Gibraltar, Malta, Heligoland)	119 sq.miles;	177,000 "
Total,	9.19 m. sq. mi.	273.6 m. popul.

e. Estimate of total figures for the whole empire and its dependencies, based generally on census of 1881 : —

Area, over 9 m. sq. miles. Popul., 320 m.

Revenue, £208 m. Public debt, £1,047,951,000.

2. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

I. The Crown.

"Although Parliamentary Government has existed since the Revolution of 1688, the Crown has retained much of its influence, owing to its position as the head of society, to its powers of patronage, and to that love of monarchy which is characteristic of the English people. The Sovereign has at present many legal prerogatives, most of which are practically vested in the ministry, such as the power of summoning, proroguing, and dissolving Parliament at pleasure, of refusing assent to any bill, of making peace or war, of dealing with foreign nations by making treaties, and receiving and sending ambassadors, of pardoning offenders after conviction, and of creating peers. Many of the feudal and fiscal prerogatives of the Crown, such as purveyance, coining, regulation of markets, and the like, have been surrendered. The Sovereign is, in fact, the head of the Church, the

army, and the law, the fountain of justice, mercy and honor, and has, formally at any rate, the supreme executive power, as well as a co-ordinate legislative power with the Houses of Lords and Commons." *Feilden*, 26.

a. Separation of England from Hanover, 1837. Crown of Hanover not to be inherited by a woman.

b. Annual expense of royal establishment: —

Queen Victoria receives from Treasury £385,000 per year, £60,000 to her own purse, £325,000 for salaries, pensions, alms, and general expenses.

Queen Victoria receives from the Duchy of Lancaster about £45,000 per year, and for pensions £1200.

Prince of Wales receives from Treasury £40,000 per year, and from Duchy of Cornwall about £65,000.

The Princess of Wales receives from the Treasury £10,000 per year.

Annuities are paid to surviving descendants of George III, to children of Victoria, and to wives or husbands of these children. Amount uncertain; estimated about £150,-000.

The Financial Reform Almanac for 1884 estimates total payments in one year to and for the Royal Family at £886,973, and for Royal Parks and Pleasure Grounds at £114,823 in addition per annum.

II. The Cabinet.

"It is theoretically an inner circle of the Privy Council, though practically distinct from it, but, *as a body, is not recognized by the law*, its members deriving their position from the fact of their being members of the Council. It was natural for the Sovereign to select certain members of the Council as his more trusted and confidential advisers, and as early as the time of Charles I. we find the actual name, Cabinet Council, in use. Under the present system of ministerial government, 'the Ministry is in fact a committee of leading members of the two Houses. It is nominated by the Crown, but it consists exclusively of statesmen whose opinions on the passing questions of the time agree in the main with the opinions of the majority of the House of Commons.' At the present time ministers do not wait to be dismissed, as in the last century, but resign together, and the Executive is now so closely connected with Parliament as to represent the nation." *Feilden*, 44–46.

"The most curious point about the cabinet is that so little is known about it. The meetings are not only secret in theory, but secret in reality. By the present practice no official minute in all ordinary cases is kept of them. Even a private note is discouraged and disliked. The House of Commons, even in its most inquisitive and turbulent moments, would scarcely permit a note of a cabinet meeting to be read. No minister who respected the fundamental usages of political practice would attempt to read such a note. The committee which unites the law-making power to the law-executing power — which by virtue of that combination is, while it lasts and holds together, the most powerful body in the state — is a committee wholly secret. No description of it, at once graphic and authentic, has ever been given. It is said to be sometimes like a rather disorderly board of directors, where many speak and few listen, though no one knows." *Bagehot: English Constitution*, 82.

a. The present Cabinet consists of: —

1. Prime Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;
2. Lord High Chancellor;
3. Lord President of the Council;
4. Chancellor of the Exchequer;
5. Secretary of State for the Home Department;
6. Secretary of State for War;
7. First Lord of the Treasury;
8. Secretary of State for the Colonies;
9. Secretary of State for India;
10. First Lord of the Admiralty;
11. Lord Chancellor of Ireland;
12. Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland;
13. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster;
14. President of the Board of Trade;
15. Secretary for Scotland;

Occasional members are —

16. Lord Privy Seal (office sometimes joined to that of Postmaster-General);
17. President of Local Government Board;
18. First Commissioner of Public Works and Buildings.

b. How chosen.

"On the resignation or dismissal of a previous ministry, it is customary for the sovereign to 'send for' some eminent member of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, and to entrust him with the task of forming a new administration. It is his duty to select such minister-designate from the ranks of the majority of the House of Commons, and, further, perhaps (though this is a point on which some latitude of choice must naturally and necessarily exist), to fix upon that one of two or more eligible candidates for the trust who may appear the most likely to be acceptable to the majority of the party to which he belongs. But with the designation of this one person the initiative of the sovereign is at an end. According to modern usage the Premier alone is the direct choice of the crown, and he possesses the privilege of choosing his own colleagues, subject of course to the approbation of the sovereign. In the exercise of this privilege the Prime Minister then proceeds, either with or without consultation with other leading members of his party, to nominate the persons to be appointed to the various executive offices. The whole number of persons thus nominated are in strictness entitled to the appellation of Ministers, while those appointed to the more important of these offices compose, either exclusively, or with one or two additions, what is called the *Cabinet*. It is to this latter and smaller body that the office

of advising the Crown is confined. They, and they alone, are in the exact sense of the words 'The Government' of the country. The Cabinet Minister is, as a matter of course, 'sworn of the Privy Council,' and advises the Sovereign, according to legal theory, in his capacity of Privy Councillor alone, while that council itself at present takes no part whatever in this duty of giving advice, nor is in any way responsible for the advice given by those particular Privy Councillors who form the Cabinet." *Traill: Central Government*, 11-13.

c. Responsibility to Parliament.

(1) Censure and dismissal from office.

(2) Impeachment.

d. Functions of the different members.

(1) The Prime Minister or Premier.

"There is no such official known to the language of constitutional law as a 'Prime Minister.' Supreme as is the authority which the so-called 'Premier' has in course of time established over his colleagues, and complete as is their subordination to him, he is in theory only one among other ministers of the Crown, and his sole official title is derived from the department over which he nominally presides. This department is usually the Treasury, and the office of First Lord of the Treasury has been held by the Prime Minister, either alone or in conjunction with another, ever since the year 1806." *Traill*, 31.

The First Lord of the Treasury should sit in the House of Commons. The Marquis of Salisbury, the present Premier, is a Peer, and must sit in the House of Lords. When he first became Premier, in November, 1885, he joined the Premiership to the Secretaryship for Foreign Affairs, which office he now holds.

(2) The Treasury Board.

"The full official description of the persons who constitute this Board is that of 'Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Treasurer,' the said persons being the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and three other officials known as 'Junior Lords.' The Treasury is still a Board of Commissioners in name, and the patent under which the members of the Board are appointed still represents them as being of equal authority, with powers to any two or more of them to discharge the functions of the whole. But the Treasury has long since ceased to be a Board in anything but name: it is now practically a department presided over by a single head, the Chancellor of the Exchequer." *Traill*, 32.

Of this Board only the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are, at present, members of the Cabinet.

(3) Secretaries of State.

"Constitutionally speaking, there is but one Secretary of State; for the five ministers who divide among them the departmental functions are all of co-equal and co-ordinate dignity, all fully authorized to

transact, if need be, each other's business, all equally competent to discharge those specific duties to the Sovereign which belonged to *the* Secretary of State, when as yet there was only one. Thus they are the only authorized channels whereby the royal pleasure is signified to any part of the body politic, whether at home or abroad, and any one of them may be empowered to carry the Sovereign's commands at any time to any person. The counter-signature of a Secretary of State is necessary to the validity of the sign-manual, and this counter-signature may be attached by any one of those five ministers. The Secretaries of State were formerly resident in the royal household, and it is still the practice for one of them to attend the Queen during her occasional visits to parts of the kingdom. It is a rule, moreover, that one of them must always be present in the metropolis. They all have necessarily seats in the Cabinet; and, necessarily, they are members of the Privy Council, and sit in one or other of the Houses of Parliament. The Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, the Colonies, and India, are appointed indifferently from either House. The Secretary of War, however, has now for some years been selected from the House of Commons, and an unbroken usage of nearly half a century has confined the Home Secretaryship to the popular Chamber." *Traill*, 60, 61.

(4) Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

"The government of Ireland is formally vested in a Viceroy, usually styled the Lord-Lieutenant, in abbreviation of his full official title of 'Lord Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of Ireland.' He is assisted by a Privy Council, consisting of fifty or sixty members, whose sanction, like that of the English Privy Council, is necessary to give validity to many of the official acts of the Executive. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland possesses nominally very extensive powers, but his actual freedom in their exercise is by no means commensurate with their ostensible extent. He acts under instruction from the Crown, conveyed to him by the ministry for the time being, whose business 'is to direct him in his proceedings, and to animadvert upon his conduct if they see him act improperly, or in a manner detrimental or inconvenient to the public service, or displeasing to the Crown.' The Cabinet Minister, ordinarily responsible for advising and directing the conduct of the Lord-Lieutenant, was at one time the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and it is presumed that theoretically the responsibility still attaches to him. But in practice it has now devolved wholly, and, considering his subordinate title, somewhat anomalously, on a functionary whose strict

official style is that of 'Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant.' The Secretary for Ireland, as he is popularly called, has, since the abolition of the Irish Parliament, become essentially the Prime Minister of the Viceroy. He wields great powers, which he is sometimes called upon to exercise without communication with his chief, and he is the minister responsible to Parliament for every act of the Irish administration. He is invariably a Privy Councillor, and has always, at least of late years, been a member of the lower branch of the Legislature; and the increasing frequency with which this part has in modern practice been associated with a seat in the Cabinet is a testimony to its augmented importance, and a proof of its virtual independence of the control of the Home Secretary." *Traill*, 78–80.

(5) The Foreign Secretary.

"The Foreign Secretary is the official organ and adviser of the Crown in its intercourse with foreign powers, and upon him devolves the duty of conducting those international negotiations upon the success of which the most vital interests of his country, or of Europe at large, may on occasion depend. In affairs of this high moment the general line of policy to be pursued would, of course, be settled by the Cabinet collectively; but the execution of the particular plans agreed upon must be largely left in his hands, and according to the amount of tact and address displayed by him in directing it, the ministerial policy may to a great extent be made or marred." *Traill*, 78.

(6) The Leader of the House.

The office of Leader of the House falls to some member of the Cabinet, who directs the Parliamentary action of the partisans of the Government, and in concert with the Speaker of the House exercises important control over the duration of debates. This honor is held by the Premier, if he sits in the Commons, but if he is in the other House it is usually given to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or the First Lord of the Treasury.

"It is not to be wondered at that no constitutional topic has attracted more attention of late years than that of the true relation between the Ministers of the Crown and Parliament. In the first place, this relation is, by its nature, of the most subtle kind, and sets at defiance any attempt at legal definition. In the second place, no analogy or precedent for the character of the relation, as it exists in England at the present day, is supplied by the experience of any other country. In other countries the Ministers of the Crown occupy a position either outside the representative Assemblies, as in the United States; or in only casual and desultory connection with them, as under even such free Constitutions as those of France and Italy; or one which is practically adverse to the representative Assemblies, in reference to which the Ministers merely personate the competing and conspicuously jealous attitude of the Crown,—a state of things which seems to be represented in the German Empire." *Sheldon Amos: Fifty Years of the English Constitution*, p. 336.

"The Opposition Party has now its recognized leader, who is the organ of communication, for all purposes of arrangement and simplification of public business, with the leader

of the Government, that is, the leader of the House. The Opposition recognizes, equally with the party in power, the duty of loyalty to the clearly-ascertained will of its own majority, or to the dictates of its chief, as presumably expressing that will; and of faithfully submitting to all the compromises or adjustments of business which its own chief, in concert with the leader of the House, shall make from time to time, in furtherance of such ends as that of deciding, satisfactorily, complex issues between the rival parties, and of determining whether the party in power continues to possess, on some or on all topics, the confidence of the majority of the House. In spite of the fact that it is the duty and habit of the Opposition to do its utmost to expose the shortcomings of the Government, and in fact to be the organ of the House itself, for the purpose of compelling the Government to acknowledge the rights and claims of the House, and that thereby an irritating hostility, sometimes of a most acrimonious and embittered sort, is engendered,— the existence and nurture of the relations just adverted to between the Opposition and the party in power have the effect of producing an extraordinary amount of unity of spirit and general co-operation between the House itself and the Government. The Government seems to the House to be, and is, the direct product and continuing creature of its own highest and most intense organization." *Sheldon Amos*, pp. 341, 342.

III. The Parliament.

a. House of Lords.

(1) In 1886 this was composed of —

5 Peers of the Blood Royal,	29 Viscounts,
2 Archbishops,	24 Bishops,
22 Dukes,	285 Barons,
20 Marquesses,	16 Scottish representative Peers,
118 Earls,	28 Irish representative Peers.

(2) These hold their seats: —

(*a*) By virtue of hereditary right;

(*b*) By creation of the Sovereign;

(*c*) By virtue of office,— English Bishops;

(*d*) By election for life,— Irish Peers;

(*e*) By election for duration of Parliament, — Scottish Peers.

(3) Its Powers.

"From the Reform Act the function of the House of Lords has been altered in English history. Before that Act it was, if not a directing chamber, at least a chamber of directors. The leading nobles, who had most influence in the Commons, and swayed the Commons, sat there. Aristocratic influence was so powerful in the House of Commons that there never was any serious breach of unity. When the Houses quarrelled, it was, as in the great Aylesbury case, about their respective privileges, and not about the national policy. The influence of the nobility was then so potent that it was not necessary to exert it. Since the Reform Act the House of Lords has become a revising and suspending house. It can alter bills; it can reject bills on which the House of Commons is not yet thoroughly in earnest,— upon which the nation is not yet determined. Their veto is a sort of hypothetical veto. They say, we reject your bill for this once, or these twice, or even these thrice, but if you keep on sending it up, at last we won't reject it." *Bagehot: English Constitution*, 99.

"In theory it has a coördinate power with the King, and the House of Commons; practically, it does not initiate important measures, but confines itself to amending and revising Bills sent up from the Commons; it is thus a most useful check on hasty legislation,

whilst on a matter on which the nation has really made up its minds the Lords are compelled to yield, *e. g.*, the Reform Bill of 1832. It has the sole power of initiating Bills relating to the peerage, but cannot initiate or amend a money Bill." *Feilden*, 126.

b. House of Commons, 670 members, composed of —

(*a*) Knights of the shire, representing counties (377).

(*b*) Burgesses, representing boroughs (284).

(*c*) Representatives of Universities (9).

c. Parliament is summoned by the Crown; new Parliament in seven years.

3. Iland of Man.

Manx people are distinct Keltic nationality. Last kings of Man were Dukes of Athole, who sold their revenues in 1765, but did not give up entire rights until 1825, since which time only has Man been a dependency of the British crown. Area, 220 sq. mi., popul., 54,000.

a. Government, home rule, consisting of Lieut.-Governor, and an elected Parliament known as the Tynwald Court.

Two Houses of Parliament, the Council, and the House of Keys. Acts of this Parliament receive the assent of the British Crown. Must then be proclaimed on Tynwald Hill. (See Introduction to *Scott's Peveril of the Peak*, and article by *W. H. Rideing* in *Harper's Mag.*, Vol. 50.)

4. The Channel Ilands.

Government, Home Rule. Area, 76 sq. mi. Popul., 87,000.

Ilands divided into Bailiwick of Jersey and Bailiwick of Guernsey. Each bailiwick under the control of its own representative legislature called the "States." The British government appoints for each bailiwick a Lieut.-Governor and a Bailiff. (See *Ansted's and Inglis's "Channel Islands."*)

5. Local Administration of England.

PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS.

a. The Parish. Organization; a Vestry, and Board of Overseers of the Poor appointed by the Vestry.

Poor Law Parish, Highway Parish, and Ecclesiastical Parish.

b. The Union. Generally an aggregation of Parishes; authority, Board of Guardians.

Most important duties, care of the poor and sanitation.

c. The County. Financial, judicial, and administrative division.

Chief authorities, — Lord-Lieutenant, Sheriff, Coroner, Justices, and County Councils, the latter a representative legislative and administrative body created by Act of 1888.

d. The City of London. *English Citizen Series, Chalmers: Local Government*, 139–147.

e. The Local Government Board. The central authority for local government. *Chalmers*, 150, 151.

"The local government areas into which England and Wales are divided may be enumerated as follows: There are 52 counties, 40 in England and 12 in Wales; 239 municipal boroughs, 70 Improvement Act Districts, 1006 urban sanitary districts, 41 port sanitary authorities, 577 rural sanitary districts, 2051 school-board districts, 424 highway districts, 853 burial-board districts, 649 unions, 194 lighting and watching districts, 14,946 poor-law parishes, 5064 highway parishes, not included in urban or highway districts, and about 13,000 ecclesiastical parishes. The total number of local authorities who tax the English rate-payer is 27,069, and they tax him by means of 18 different kinds of rates." *M. D. Chalmers: Local Government* (English Citizen Series), p. 18.

6. Systems of Colonial Government.

a. English colonial governments are of three forms: —

(1) Those having neither responsible nor representative government.

(2) Those having a representative but no responsible government.

(3) Those having both responsible and representative governments.

(4) Dependencies.

(5) Protectorates.

b. Commercial importance. *Colonies and Dependencies*, 120–125. *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 457, 458. One third of British exports goes to the colonies. *Colonies and Dependencies*, 121.

c. England's colonies compared with those of France and Germany.

(1) France. 885,000 sq. mi., or less than one tenth of England's. Colonies represented in the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and politically form part of the Republic.

(2) Germany. Colonial possessions large on the coast of Africa, but as yet not important. Change of policy in 1884, with extensive annexations.

7. Imperial Federation.

Marquis of Lorne: Imperial Federation (in Buxton's Imperial Parliament Series).

a. Colonial conferences.

LECTURES III-IV.

ENGLISH POLITICAL PARTIES.

1. The different parties.
   a. Tories; Conservatives.
   b. Whigs; Liberals; Radicals.
   c. Liberal Unionists.
   d. Irish Nationalists, or Parnellites, or Home Rulers.
   e. The administrations.

	Tories; Conservatives.	Whigs; Liberals.
1812–1830	Lord Liverpool, Wellington.	
1830–1834	. . . . .	Earl Grey.
1834–1835	Peel.	
1835–1841	. . . . .	Melbourne.
1841–1846	Peel.	
1846–1852	. . . . .	Lord John Russell.
1852	Derby.	
1852–1858	. . . . .	Aberdeen, Palmerston.
1858–1859	Derby.	
1859–1865	. . . . .	Palmerston.
1865–1866	. . . . .	Russell.
1866–1868	Derby, Disraeli.	
1868–1874	. . . . .	Gladstone.
1874–1880	Disraeli (Beaconsfield).	
1880–1885	. . . . .	Gladstone.
1885–1886	Salisbury.	
1886	. . . . .	Gladstone.
1886	Salisbury.	

A. Parliamentary and Electoral Reforms.

1. The term reform in English history is used with especial reference to representation in Parliament.

2. French Revolution and its ideas exerted strong influence upon English politics, and diverted attention from domestic questions. Whigs (C. J. Fox) inclined to criticise Revolution more favorably. Tories (Pitt and Burke) violently oppose it and sustain the long war against Napoleon. Popular Revolutionary societies. *Bright: History of England*, III, 1160–62.

3. Attempts at Reform before 1832. Advocated in 1745; by Lord Chatham in 1770; by Wm. Pitt in 1782; by Earl Grey in 1792. *Lecky: History of England in 18th Century*, IV, 60–62. *Molesworth: The History of England*, I, 4–8; after 1816, bills were introduced yearly. *Molesworth*, I, 11–14; 17. Opposition.

4. Rapid spread of Reform principles and of popular discontents after 1815, due to —

a. Organization among workingmen. *Knight: Popular History of England*, VIII, chap. v.

b. Success of Irish agitation under O'Connell. See below.

c. Revolution of 1830 in France. Peaceful revolution conducted by middle classes against reactionary king. See Lecture XVII.

d. Manufacturing districts of the North of England unrepresented in Parliament.

Domination of the land-owning class.

Triumph of Whigs over Tories in the Act of 1832 for the reform of Parliament. Wellington. *Knight:* VIII, 262, 263. *Bright*, III, 1420–22.

5. Character of the franchise and of representation in Parliament.

a. Distinction between county and borough franchise.

"The knight of the shire was the man of the county which elected him. The borough member was ordinarily a burgess of the borough which he represented. But the rule was not followed in the case of the county. When the position of a member of Parliament became a privilege, rich men evaded the law by being admitted to the free burghership of the town. The election in a borough was not conducted on the principle which was uniformly in force in the surrounding county. In some towns the whole of the inhabitants, in others the rate-payers, in others again the governing bodies, chose the representatives. Originally, indeed, the borough franchise was probably wide, and included either the whole of the adult male inhabitants of the borough, or those of them, at any rate, who paid scot and lot, as the local and general taxes were called, or enjoyed the freedom of the community. But it was the policy of the Stuarts to limit the franchise, and the restrictions which were thus introduced were continued by decisions of the House of Commons after the Restoration. In consequence of these decisions, a great variety of franchises existed in different boroughs.

These complicated and difficult franchises made the work of a returning officer no sinecure. When Romilly stood for Horsham in

1807, only 73 electors voted; yet the poll-clerk was occupied for the best part of two days in taking down the description of every burgage tenement from the deeds of the voters. In Weymouth the right of voting was the title to any portion of certain ancient rents within the borough; and, according to Lord Campbell's autobiography, several electors voted in 1826 as entitled to an undivided twentieth part of a sixpence." *Spencer Walpole: The Electorate and the Legislature*, 52–54.

b. Rotten and nomination boroughs. *McCarthy: Epoch of Reform*, 25, 26.

"The members of the House of Commons were mostly returned by decayed towns or little villages, and the inhabitants or electors uniformly supported the nominee of their patron. It was stated in 1793 that 309 out of the 513 members, belonging to England and Wales, owed their election to the nomination either of the Treasury or of 162 powerful individuals. The 45 Scotch members were nominated by 35 persons. In 1801, 71 out of the 100 Irish members owed their seats to the influence of 55 patrons. The House of Commons, therefore, consisted of 658 members, and of these 425 were returned either on the nomination or on the recommendation of 252 patrons.

"Some boroughs had almost literally no inhabitants. Gatton was a park; Old Sarum a mound; Corfe Castle a ruin; the remains of what once was Dunwich were under the waves of the North Sea. But the great mass of boroughs were a little more populous than these places, and contained a dozen, fifty, or even one hundred dependent electors." *Spencer Walpole*, 55, 56.

c. Non-representation of large and important districts.

"In 1831 the ten southern counties of England and Wales comprised a population of 3,260,000 persons, and returned 235 members to Parliament; the six northern counties contained a population of 3,594,000 persons, and returned 66 members to Parliament; Lancashire, with 1,330,000 people, had 14 representatives; Cornwall, with 3,000 inhabitants, had 44 representatives. In round numbers, every 7,500 persons in Cornwall, and every 100,000 people in Lancashire, had a member to themselves." *Spencer Walpole*, 58.

d. Restricted suffrage.

e. Bribery.

6. Act of 1832. *Fyffe*, II, 419-421. *McCarthy: Epoch of Reform*, ch. 6. *Müller*, 149, 150. *Molesworth*, I, chs. 2, 3, 4, consider the Reform bill in detail.

a. 56 rotten boroughs disfranchised.

b. 30 boroughs lost one member; 2 lost two members.

c. 22 large towns given two members; 20 one member.

d. County members increased from 94 to 159.

e. Changes in the franchise; extension.

"Up to 1832 the county members had been invariably elected by an uniform constituency,—the county freeholders; the borough members had been elected by different kinds of electors in different places. The Act of 1832 exactly reversed this condition. The complicated borough franchises were swept away; and, except for the preservation of the rights of freemen and freeholders, the borough franchise was confined to householders whose houses were worth not less than ten pounds a year. The county franchise, on the contrary, was enlarged by the admission of copyholders, of leaseholders, and of tenants whose holding was of the clear annual value of fifty pounds." *Spencer Walpole*, 62.

7. Change of party names. Conservatives and Liberals. *McCarthy: Own Times*, I, 28. Sir Robert Peel; Lord John Russell; Palmerston.

a. Anti-Corn Law League, 1837–1846. Richard Cobden; John Bright. *Gowing's Life of Cobden. Morley's Life of Cobden. Molesworth*, II, 178–226.

8. The English Radicals. Chartism. *Molesworth*, II, 270–302. *Bright*, IV, 44–46, 87–89, 176–178.

9. Reform Act of 1867; Disraeli; redistribution and reduction of franchise. For abstract of the Act: *Ewald*, 232–238. *McCarthy*, ch. 51, 52, II, 340–370. *Molesworth*, III, ch. 5, 271–355.

a. Rivalry of Disraeli and Gladstone. See *Kebbel: Life of Beaconsfield. Emerson: Life of Gladstone.*

10. Introduction of the Ballot. Ballot act of 1872. Gladstone. *Molesworth*, III, 410, 411. Judges of Election Returns, 1868; Corrupt Practices Prevention Act, 1883. *Hazell.*

a. "It is still felt by many who are most earnest vindicators of political liberty that the effect of the ballot must be to impair political conscientiousness by hiding out of sight the fact that the franchise is at least as much a trust to be publicly exercised as a right to be privately enjoyed." *Amos: Fifty Years of the English Constitution*, 39.

b. "The ballot is a machine to protect the individual voter, not against the nation on whose behalf he exercises the trust, but against all sorts of illicit pressure, outrage, clamor, intrusiveness, curiosity and confusion, which, on so solemn an occasion as that of recording a vote for a member of the legislature, may disconcert even the strongest-minded voter, and which voters of average mental strength and intelligence may be wholly unable to bear up against." *Amos: Fifty Years of the English Constitution*, 39, 40.

11. Reform Act of 1885. Gladstone.

a. Extension of suffrage.

b. Redistribution of Parliamentary seats. *Statesman's Year Book*, 212–215. *Hazell.*

c. Result of extension of suffrage in Ireland, the triumph of Home Rule candidates except in Ulster; alliance between Liberals and Parnellites to establish Irish Home Rule.—See below, §*B*, 12, *c*.

12. Woman Suffrage.

"At a parliamentary election a woman cannot vote, neither can she serve as a member of Parliament. But a woman may exercise all local franchises if she be qualified in other respects, and she also may fill most local offices. It has been judicially decided that a woman may be a commissioner of sewers, governor of a workhouse, keeper of a prison, gaoler, parish constable, returning officer for a parliamentary election, guardian, and overseer of the poor. In the case of the overseer the judges rather ungraciously intimated that a man ought to be appointed, and that if there was no man available a woman was the next best thing.

"Women have come forward lately in a good many instances to serve on school boards, but with this exception they have not shown much disposition to take part in local affairs." *Chalmers: Local Government*, pp. 11, 12.

13. Modern English Radicalism; John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Charles Bradlaugh, Republican in tendency; Reform of House of Lords; most urgent demands met by Reform Act of 1885, and by Mr. Forster's Education Acts of 1869 and 1870, establishing public school systems. *Bright*, IV, 462–66. See *Wemyss Reid's Life of W. E. Forster.*

B. Ireland and the Irish Question.

Popul., 5.1 m.; area, 32,531 sq. mi.; 4 times Massachusetts.

1. Four ancient divisions of Ireland: Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster; the three former, Catholic; the latter, Protestant.

2. History of Ireland before the Legislative Union with England (1801). First invasion from England, 1169. First real conquest of the whole iland in the reign of Elizabeth, 1595–1602.

a. 1495. Statute of Drogheda.

(1) Irish Parliament not to be held except by consent of King of England.

(2) No bill to be introduced into Irish parliament except by King's consent.

(3) Recent English legislation should extend to Ireland.

b. 1597. Rebellion of the Irish. *Green: Short History of English People*, 449–452.

c. 1633. The "Thorough" policy of Wentworth. *Green*, 509, 510.

d. 1641. Irish massacre in Ulster; 30,000 Protestants slain. The period of Cromwell. *Deane: A Short History of Ireland*, ch. v; *Green*, 558.

e. 1652. Act of Settlement for Ireland. Land of the Irish in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster was confiscated and distributed among those who had advanced money for the war, and the soldiers. Papists who had not taken part in the rebellion received land in Connaught.

f. 1689–1801. The Roman Catholics of Ireland supported James II.; after the Revolution treated with great harshness. Roman Catholics excluded from Irish Parliament. *Green*, 670, 671; 772, 773.

"A reward of £100 is offered for information against any priest who exercises his religious functions, for which the penalty is imprisonment for life. Every Papist at the age of eighteen is to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, in default of which he is incapable of holding land by purchase or inheritance, and the property is to go to the next Protestant kin. No Catholic is to send his children abroad to be educated. N. B. — This Act was rarely put into practice. *Acland and Ransome: Political History*, 124.

For the whole period before the Union. *May: Constitutional History of England*, II, ch. 16. *Deane*, ch. 7.

3. Legislative Union of Great Britain with Ireland, 1801; Imperial parliament; Ireland sent 32 members to the House of Lords, and 100 members to House of Commons. *Deane*, ch. 10. *Green*, 772, 773.

Pitt not successful in attempt to repeal certain Acts against the Roman Catholics.

4. Emmet's Rebellion, 1803. *Deane*, 137.

5. Catholic Emancipation, 1829. *Deane*, 147–156. *Green*, 778–798.

Catholics admitted to all offices except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England and Ireland, and Viceroy of Ireland. Daniel O'Connell. *Mc Carthy*, ch. 12. *Hamilton's Life of O' Connell.*

6. The tithe war. *Molesworth*, I, 293, 303, 373, 385; II, 18. *Deane*, 156–168, 178. *Mc Carthy: Epoch of Reform*, ch. 8. 1838, Irish poor law.

"It is shown that the state church included little more than one tenth of the people, that in 150 parishes there was not one Protestant, and in 860 parishes less than 50."

7. Agitation for Repeal of the Union, and for the reëstablishment of an Irish Parliament. Beginning of the "Home Rule" movement,

1843. *Deane*, 185–190. *Mc Carthy*, I, 182–203. *Mc Carthy: Epoch of Reform*, 191–194.

In this agitation O'Connell condemned the use of physical force, and hoped to dissolve the Union by peaceful methods; this policy was too cautious for the more radical portion of his followers, and there was consequently a secession known as the Young Ireland Movement. *Mc Carthy*, I, 302–317. *Deane*, 196–202. *Epoch of Reform*, 195.

8. Potato famine, 1847; emigration, chiefly to the United States. *Deane*, 190–193. *Mc Carthy*, I, 277–282.

9. Fenianism. *Deane*, 203–211. *Mc Carthy*, II, 373–390. *Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 577–583. *Rutherford's Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy.*

10. Disestablishment. *Deane*, ch. 14. *Mc Carthy*, II, 450–454, 463–471.

11. The land question. *Deane*, ch. 15. *Mc Carthy*, II, 471–479. Land owned largely by few persons; absenteeism; evictions; rack-rent system; Ulster tenant-right; Clearances, and the Encumbered Estates Act, 1848–49. *Deane*, 223. *Mc Carthy*, II, 473, 474. *Bright*, IV, 165–168, 192.

a. First Land Act, 1860. Attempt to base relations between the owner of the land and the tenant on contract instead of custom, or common law. Reactionary measure against interests of tenants.

b. Second Land Act, 1870. For Gladstone's Speech, see *Molesworth*, III, 385–388. *Mc Carthy*, II, 477. *Deane*, 230–237. *Bright*, IV, 460, 461. Partly legalized Ulster tenant right.

(1) Compensation to tenant for disturbance by landlord, except in case of eviction for non-payment of rent.

(2) Compensation for improvements which are presumed to be made by tenant unless landlord can prove the contrary.

(3) Possible for tenants to borrow two thirds of purchase money necessary to buy their holding from the Government.

(4) Landlords might escape these conditions by letting land on long leases.

c. Third Land Act, 1881; the "three F's." *Deane*, 238, 239. *Müller*, 585, 586.

(1) "If a yearly tenant thinks his rent too high, he may go before the Land Commission Court, and get a rent

fixed. This rent cannot be raised for fifteen years, and then only by the Court which fixed it. This privilege is called 'FAIR RENT.'

(2) When a tenant has a fair rent fixed, he cannot be evicted by his landlord except for non-payment of rent, for dilapidation, persistent waste, or the breach of some other statutory condition. This privilege is called 'FIXITY OF TENURE.'

(3) Every yearly tenant has now an interest in his holding which he can sell. Thus, a tenant wishing to give up his farm can sell the right of succession for a sum equal to several years' purchase of the rent. This privilege is called 'FREE SALE.'

d. Land Purchase Act of 1885, popularly known as Lord Ashbourne's Act,— renewed and extended in 1888, apparently a successful effort to increase the number of landowners. *Deane*, 239, 240.

"If a tenant wishes to buy his holding, and arranges with his landlord as to terms, he can change his position from that of a perpetual rent payer into that of the payer of an annuity terminable at the end of forty-nine years, the Government supplying him with the entire purchase money, to be repaid during those forty-nine years at four per cent. This annual payment of £4 for every £100 borrowed covers both principal and interest. Thus, if a tenant, already paying a statutory rent of £50, agrees to buy from his landlord at twenty years' purchase, or £1000, the Government will lend him the money, his rent will at once cease, and he will pay, not £50, but £40 yearly, for forty-nine years, and then become the owner of his holding free of all charge." Up to Nov. 30, 1888, 11,920 applicants had received advances amounting to £4,922,100; 3599 of these cases were tenants paying less than £10 rent. No failures to pay installments.

13. The Home-Rule party, 1870. *Mc Carthy*, II, 542–545. Isaac Butt, 1870–75; Shaw, 1875–77; Parnell, 1877–.

Agitation for restoration of Home Rule to Ireland based on disaffection with the system of land tenure. Parnell leads successful revolt of more violent wing of Home-Rule party against conservative leader, Butt. "Obstruction" in Parliament, 1874–77. *Bright*, IV, 554–560.

a. The Land League and National Convention system, 1879. Refusal to pay rents. Agrarian outrages. Appeal to the Irish in the United States. *Bright*, IV, 560–562.

(1) W. E. Foster's Coercion Act, 1881. Unparalleled obstructive tactics of Irish members of Parliament. *T. Wemyss Reid: Life of W. E. Foster.*

b. "No Rent Manifesto." Suppression of Land League, Oct. 20, 1881.

Organization of National Land League. Objects, political and industrial independence. The plan of campaign; Michael Davitt, leader of the agrarian agitation. Doctrine of the nationalization of the land. See *Hurlbut's "Ireland under Coercion,"* especially pp. 161–164; also *Proceedings before the Parnell Inquiry Commission, London Times*, 1888.

(1) Phœnix Park murders, 1882. The "Invincibles." Crimes Acts of 1882 and 1887. *Hazell*, 1888, pp. 166, 167. The "Closure" to stop "obstruction," 1887. *Hazell*, 432.

(2) Contributions from America. The League in the United States.

c. Alliance between Gladstone and Parnell, 1886. Gladstone's Home-Rule Bill, April 8, 1886; defeated, 341 to 311. See *Hazell*, 1887, "*Home Rule.*"

Gladstone's Land-Purchase Bill (1886), introduced to accompany Home-Rule Bill, and failed with it. Contemplated universal purchase by new Irish state with money loaned by English Treasury.

(1) Division of Liberal party.

(*a*) Home Rulers; Gladstone, Morley, Harcourt.

(*b*) Liberal Unionists; Bright, Hartington, Chamberlain, Goschen, unite with Conservatives to maintain the union of 1801, and to suppress agrarian crime in Ireland.

d. Appeal to the country. Defeat of Gladstone in General Election of 1886. Marquis of Salisbury (Conservative), Premier, 1886; A. J. Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1887.

e. The League "proclaimed" under Balfour's Coercion Act, Aug., 1887. *Hazell's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1888, p. 386.

LECTURE V.

CANADA. THE CAPE COLONY.

A. Canada.

Reference; *Payne: European Colonies*, ch. 11.

1. Early history.
   - *a.* Until 1774, governed by England as a conquered province.
   - *b.* From 1774 until 1791, governed as a crown colony by a Governor under the name of Province of Quebec.
   - *c.* In 1791, divided into Upper and Lower Canada, the Ottawa River being the boundary between them. In each colony a governor and council were established, but there was no responsible government. Little wisdom shown in the government.

"The Councils and Assemblies could indeed vote new laws, but their acts might be vetoed by an irresponsible Executive. The Councils and Assemblies voted supplies, but the Executive administered them. No member of the Executive could be deprived of his post by the Council and Assembly; and however corrupt and unpopular the entire government might be, it was removable only by the British Government, which acted through the Colonial office. The Colonial office was presided over by an English Secretary of State, who owed his position to the chances of party politics, and was sometimes ignorant of the very names of the colonies whose fortunes were placed in his hands. A system better adapted to degrade and irritate a growing community could not have been devised." *Payne*, 103, 104.

2. Insurrection of 1837. Causes:
   - *a.* Ill feeling between the French and English.

"In Lower Canada there was a chronic animosity between the French and the English. It was a war of races, which so divided the people that they hardly mingled in society, and 'the only public occasion when they met was in the jury-box, and they met there only to the utter obstruction of justice.'" *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 431.

   - *b.* Misrule.

"There was no agreement between the executive and the assembly. In all of them the

administration of public affairs was habitually confined to those who did not co-operate harmoniously with the popular branch of the legislature." *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 431.

3. Responsible government (the Union Act) granted in 1840. Upper and Lower Canada were united.

"The subordination of the Executive to the Legislature, as in the mother-country, which was thus secured, received the name of 'Responsible Government.' It was the emancipation of the colony, and rendered it practically as free as one of the United States. It was also the emancipation of the empire, for when secured in one of the colonies it was within the reach of all. This change is the principal event in our modern colonial history. Henceforth it was recognized that the inhabitants of all colonies where Englishmen are the majority were entitled to the same political rights as Englishmen at home." *Payne*, 105, 106.

4. Canadian Federation. *Payne*, 162–164.

a. 1867, union of Canada, — composed of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, — Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick as a "Dominion." *Bright*, IV, 433–435.

b. Since then Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Manitoba have joined the Confederation. Newfoundland not yet included.

"The Canadian federation was a consequence of the American civil war. Not only did there seem to be every prospect of attack, but the action of the home government taught the various colonies of North America that they must rely on their own strength for defense. The necessity was common to all, and the advantages of a defensive union were conspicuously brought before them." *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 433.

5. The Central Government of the Dominion.

"The government of the Canadian Dominion is modelled upon the Federal government of the United States. Each of the seven provinces which compose the Dominion — Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia — has its separate provincial legislature. The powers of these provincial legislatures are limited to local questions; and all matters of general public policy are dealt with by the Parliament of Canada.

The Parliament of Canada meets annually at Ottawa, upon summons issued by the Governor-General in the Queen's name. The real business of the government is carried on by a Cabinet of fourteen ministers, who have the support of the majority in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister of the Dominion, who is called upon by the Governor-General to form an administration, and who forms it out of his political supporters, is the 'Minister of the Interior.' His duties, besides the general management of the government and

miscellaneous duties which are not entrusted to any other minister, include those of the Home and Foreign Secretaries in England." *Payne*, 143, 144.

England has a nominal veto upon Canadian legislation, but never exercises it. Appoints the Governor-General.

6. Government of the Provinces.

"For provincial political business each province has its own executive and legislative bodies. Each has its Lieutenant-Governor, who is appointed by the Governor-General. He is assisted by an Executive Council or Cabinet, enjoying the support of the majority in the Legislative Assembly. Except Manitoba, all the Provinces have Legislative Assemblies; Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island have also second chambers in the shape of Legislative Councils. Ontario and British Columbia have none." *Payne*, 144. Canadian voting; *The Nation*, Jan. 10, 1889, pp. 29, 30.

7. Political parties in Canada.

a. Conservatives, or Tories; Sir John Alexander McDonald.

b. Liberals, or Reformers.

8. Recent growth and development of Canada. Its indebtedness. Its relations with the United States.

B. The Fishery Question.

Open sea is open to any one; each state owns the sea for three miles from the shore. Method of measurement.

1. The treaty of 1783.

"By the treaty of 1783, which admitted the independence of the United States, Great Britain conceded to them the right of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland along such coasts of the same island as were used by British seamen, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other British dominions in America; as well as the right of drying and curing fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, the Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as they should continue unsettled; but not the right of drying or curing on the island of Newfoundland." *Woolsey: International Law*, 83.

2. Treaty of 1818.

"Article I. — Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish on certain coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, it is agreed between the High Contracting Parties that the inhabitants of the said United

States shall have for ever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands; on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands; and also on the *coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks* from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the straights of Belleisle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice however to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company; and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty for ever to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled *bays, harbors, and creeks* of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland here above described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground. And the United States hereby renounce for ever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the *coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors* of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America not included within the above-mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbors for the purposes of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and *for no other purpose whatever.* But they shall be under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them."

According to this treaty, therefore, American vessels can enter harbors for shelter, food, or water, but not for *bait.*

3. Reciprocity treaty of 1854. Liberty to American vessels to fish, and commercial privileges to Canadians. Fish were admitted free of duty.

"The inhabitants of the United States shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, except shell fish, on the sea coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors, and creeks of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and of the several islands thereunto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore."

This treaty terminated in 1866; treaty of 1818 again in force.

4. Treaty of Washington, 1871. Government of United States agreed to pay Canada a certain sum per annum for the grant of right

to fishermen. In 1880 this treaty was extended for a further period of five years. Allowed to lapse in 1886.

5. Present situation.

C. The Cape Colony.

1. Cape Colony, or Cape of Good Hope. *Payne: European Colonies*, 185–191. Settled by the Dutch; since 1806 possessed by England.

English colonies in Southern Africa have been incorporated with Cape Colony, except Natal; and Natal, although a crown colony, possesses a representative government. The Boer republics also must be ranked by themselves.

"The only colony outside the North American and Australian groups which has obtained autonomy is the Cape Colony. This Colony has a Legislative Council of 22 members, elected for seven years, and a House of Assembly of 72 members, both houses being elected by electors possessing a property qualification. The Governor is president of the Executive Council, which consists of the Cabinet plus several non-official members. The Cabinet consists of the Attorney-General, the Colonial Secretary, who is the Premier, the Treasurer, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and the Secretary for Native Affairs." *J. S. Cotton and E. J. Payne: Colonies and Dependencies*, p. 151.

2. Natal. *Payne*, 191–195. Declared an English Colony in 1843.

a. Zululand, northeast of Natal; war with Cetewayo, 1879. Annexation of the territory occupied by the Zulus, 1887.

3. The Free States: Transvaal Republic, Orange Free State, formed 1836–40; the new republic in Zululand, formed 1886–87; Boers.

"These districts are occupied partly by natives and partly by Europeans of mixed race, chiefly Dutch, whose ancestors have emigrated in past times from the Cape Colony, and who are called 'Boers.'" *Colonies and Dependencies*, 151.

War between Transvaal Republic and England in 1882 resulted in nominal suzerainty of England, but practical independence of the Boers.

4. Confederation of African colonies. Act of 1877.

LECTURE VI.

ENGLISH COLONIES IN AUSTRALASIA AND POLYNESIA.

REFERENCES: *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 437–448. *E. J. Pagne: European Colonies*, ch. 12, 165–185. *Silver: Handbook of Australia and New Zealand.*

1. The eight English colonies: Fiji, Western Australia, Southern Australia, Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand; area nearly that of the United States; popul., nearly 3 m.

2. New South Wales.

a. Early history; discoveries; Cook's voyages. Botany Bay discovered in 1787; New South Wales the oldest settlement; first settled by convicts; 1854, gold discovered; growing importance of the colony; poor government; governors were despotic; no trial by jury or criticism of the press; four classes of society; convicts, emancipists, free settlers, and officials; rivalry of emancipists and settlers who were admitted into the colony in 1851.

b. Establishment of responsible government in 1855. Parliament; Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly; nature of each; the Governor and his Cabinet.

"There was one grievance common to all the Australian colonies. They objected to the mode adopted by the Home Government in dealing with the public lands, and, in their consequent anxiety to obtain full local powers of control, they hastened to avail themselves of the authority granted by the Act to introduce a more fully representative system with two chambers. Their action was confirmed by the Home Parliament, and the public lands were surrendered to colonial management. By that time New Zealand and the Cape had obtained representative legislatures, the one in 1852, the other in the succeeding year. The result of the policy of this period was, not only that representative institutions had been granted to the colonies of Australasia and the Cape, but that throughout the British possessions the independence of the colonial legislatures had been acknowledged, and their claims to a parliamentary government satisfied." *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 414.

c. Question of single or double legislative chamber.

A. Advantages of a single assembly.

1. "That the enormously increased legislative business of modern times is, on the whole, delayed, hampered, and interrupted to an extent wholly disproportionate to any benefits derived by a second discussion conducted in a different assembly.

2. "As a barrier against the tempestuous current of democracy, the Second Chamber is worse than useless, because if the more popular Chamber is practically omnipotent, resistance will only be persisted in in matters on which the mind of the people is not fully made up, and therefore on which no legislation ought to take place at all; which is only saying that the popular Chamber is badly composed, not efficiently representing the people, and prone to reckless legislation; or if, on the other hand, the popular Chamber is not omnipotent, and the two Chambers are of co-equal efficiency, legislation will either be the result of a series of compromises, or be barred altogether by a succession of deadlocks, as it has been in the British Colony of Victoria.

3. "So far as, like the Senate of the U. S. and of France and the Legislative Councils of the Australian Colonies, it represents a different class of interests or sentiments, it is pure legislative loss, without any compensating gain."

B. Advantages of a double assembly, or a bicameral system.

1. "That it affords a check upon the characteristic tendency of a democratic assembly to hasty and precipitate legislation.

2. "Unless the constitution of the Second Chamber exactly repeats the constitution of the first, its existence affords the opportunity of approaching a legislative problem from a new point of view, and throwing, perhaps, fresh lights upon it.

3. "By prolonging and complicating the process of legislation, it affords multiplied opportunities for correcting the oversights, supplying the defects, and improving the structure of legislative measures.

4. "In the case of the Second Chamber being representative like the first, but representative of other classes of the community, it affords a security that the interests of these classes are not overlooked." *Amos: The Science of Politics*, 238, 239.

See also *May: Constitutional History of England*, II, 535–537.

3. Victoria; capital, Melbourne; separated from New South Wales in 1850; constitution granted in 1855; more liberal than that of New South Wales; legislative council elected instead of being nominated by the Crown.

4. Southern Australia; capital, Adelaide; discovered in 1802; settled by a company and not by convicts, 1836; real estate speculation; governed by the Crown until 1856, when a liberal constitution was granted.

The Wakefield system.

"Mr. Wakefield's plan was to arrest the strong democratic tendencies of the new community, and to reproduce in Australia the strong distinction of classes which was found in England. He wanted the land sold as dear as possible, so that laborers might not become land-owners; and the produce of the land was to be applied in tempting laborers to emigrate with the prospect of better wages than they got at home. It was really a plan for getting the advantages of the colony into the hands of the non-laboring classes." *E. J. Payne: European Colonies*, 173.

5. Western Australia; capital, Perth; first settled on King George's Sound by convict party from New South Wales, 1825, sent to anticipate a French attempt. Governor appointed by the Crown. Legislative Council of 18 members, 12 of whom are elected. Growth of colony retarded by convict labor.

6. Queensland; until 1859 known as Morton Bay, a convict colony; not so advanced as others. Governor, responsible ministry, and two Houses of Parliament. Excitement on annexation of New Guinea in 1883, and over New Hebrides in 1887.

7. Tasmania; convict settlement, 1803–50; constitution and representative government similar to that of New South Wales.

8. New Zealand; English sovereignty proclaimed in 1840; representative government; representation of natives in the parliament.

9. Fiji, ceded to England in 1874; a crown colony.

10. The transportation of convicts, 1787–1858; arguments in favor of it; objections.

11. Alienation of public lands. *Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 443. *Hazell*, 1888, p. 32.

12. The gold supply of Australia; export of $700 m.; no prospect of a diminution.

13. The Australian system of voting.

14. Federation of Australian colonies; Act of 1885 providing for a representative council to meet once in two years; its power.

15. Doctrine that Crown may not appoint Governors without consulting the local authorities. Resistance by the colony of Queensland to choice of Crown for Governor of that colony, 1888. Sympathy in other colonies. Australian nationality. *Geo. Baden Powell: Selecting Colonial Governors; Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1888. *A. W. Stirling: Queensland; Fortnightly Review*, Dec., 1888. *United Australia and Imperial Federation; Westm. Review*, Sept., 1888.

LECTURE VII.

THE ASIATIC EMPIRE OF ENGLAND.

A. India.

References: *W. W. Hunter: The Indian Empire. Sir Henry Maine: India;* in *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 460. *McCarthy*, II, chs. xxxii–xxxvi. *Monier Williams: Hinduism. Rhys Davids: Buddhism. Meredith Townsend: Will England Retain India? Contemp. Review*, June, 1888, p. 795.

Sir James Caird: India; The Land and the People. A. R. Colquhoun: Amongst the Shans. Sir J. Phear: The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon. A. H. Keane: Asia; in *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel. J. R. Seeley: The Expansion of England;* Course II, Lectures II–IV.

1. Size, density, physical characteristics. Area, including Ceylon, Aden, and Burmah, 1.66 m. sq. mi., or nearly one half United States; popul., 260 m. *Hazell.*

2. History of acquisition by England. *Mc Carthy*, I, 440.

a. Organization of East India Company in 1600, for trading; rival companies; final consolidation and exclusive privileges to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

b. Establishment of factories. *Hunter*, 276, 277.

c. Contests with Dutch and French trading companies.

d. Clive and the battle of Plassey, 1757. "History has agreed to adopt this date as the beginning of the British Empire in the East."
Hunter, 285; *Müller*, 154; or *Lodge*, 418.

(1) Conquest and annexation of Lower Burmah, 1826, and 1852 (Rangoon).

e. Governed by East India Co. until 1858. *Hunter*, 322, 323.

f. Sepoy mutiny occurred, 1857–58; its cause, "an outburst of terrified fanaticism," and desire to restore native independence; the government transferred from East India Co. to the Crown. *Müller*, 292–294; or *Mc Carthy*, II, 85–92. *Hunter*, 318–322.

g. In 1876, Victoria took the title Empress of India. *Hunter*, 323.

h. Protectorate over Beloochistan established in 1883. Quetta, chief town, occupied in 1876. Important only as an approach to Persia or to Afghanistan.

i. Conquest and annexation of Upper Burmah; King Thebaw; French intrigues, 1885–86; conflicts with native "Dacoits"; approach to Chinese frontier. "*Our Task in Burmah*": *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 41, p. 376.

j. Relations with Tibet; war about territory of Sikkim, 1888; interference of Chinese Ambassador at Lassa.

3. Language and Education. No single common name for all India; extreme varieties; 106 different languages, of which 18 are spoken by more than a million persons each. "India is much less

uniform than Europe." *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 461. In British India, out of 200 m. inhabitants not more than six per cent can read and write; less than one per cent has any knowledge of English.

4. RELIGION. 187 m. Hindoos; 50 m. Mohammedans; 6 m. Buddhists; 1.8 m. Christians; 85,000 Parsees; bitter antagonism between Mohammedans and Hindoos. *W. W. Hunter: London* (Weekly) *Times*, Mar. 2, 1888, pp. 8, 9.

5. Administration and organization of the Empire of India.

a. Parliament of the United Kingdom the supreme authority. India office in London; Secretary of State for India responsible to Parliament; a Cabinet Minister, assisted by a Council, divided into Committees. *Hunter*, 328.

b. Administrative divisions in India. *McCarthy*, II, 91, 92.

(1) Supreme authority in India vested in Viceroy or Governor-General, who is assisted by Council; both Viceroy and Council appointed by the Crown.

Two functions of Council:

(*a*) Administrative, consists of Viceroy, and, usually, the six appointed members.

(*b*) Legislative, consists of Viceroy and the six members, with about twelve additional members, nominated by the Viceroy, of whom one half must be non-official persons, and of whom some are always natives.

(2) British possessions divided into 12 governments (two presidencies, Madras and Bombay), and 10 provinces.

(3) Provinces divided into districts, — 240 in number, — each in charge of a collector. "Upon the energy and personal character of the collector depends ultimately the efficiency of the Indian government." Duties twofold: fiscal officer, also civil and criminal judge. *Hunter*, 332.

c. Responsibility.

"The political constitution of India is regulated by a series of Acts of Parliament, which culminate in the Act of 1858 transferring the government from the Company to the Crown. By that statute it is enacted that India shall be governed by, and in the name of, the Queen [now the Empress] through one of her principal Secretaries of State, assisted by a council. The Secretary of State is a Cabinet Minister; and, according to the practice of the British constitution, he must have a seat in one of the two Houses of Parliament, while his Under-Secretary must sit in the other. Responsibility to Parliament is thus provided, with all that this entails. The Indian Budget is annually submitted to the House of Commons, though the ways and means are not voted in detail as with the English Budget. Still it is recognized in countless matters that the English Parliament is really the supreme ruler of India." *J. S. Cotton: Colonies and Dependencies*, Part I, 36, 37.

d. The village communities of India.

"The community is so organized as to be complete in itself. The end for which it exists is the tillage of the soil, and it contains within itself the means of following its occupation without help from outside. The brotherhood, besides the cultivating families who form the major part of the group, comprises families hereditarily engaged in the humble arts which furnish the little society with articles of use and comfort. It includes a village watch and a village police, and there are organized authorities for the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of civil order. . . . . Villages frequently occur in which the affairs of the community are managed, its customs interpreted, and the disputes of its members decided by a single Headman, whose office is sometimes admittedly hereditary, but is sometimes described as elective; the choice being generally, however, in the last case, confided in practice to the members of one particular family, with a strong preference for the eldest male of the kindred, if he be not specially disqualified. But I have good authority for saying that in those parts of India in which the village-community is most perfect, and in which there are the clearest signs of an original proprietary equality between all the families composing the group, the authority exercised elsewhere by the Headman is lodged with the Village Council. It is always viewed as a representative body and not as a body possessing inherent authority; and whatever be its real number, it always bears a name which recalls its ancient constitution of five persons." *Maine: Village Communities*, 122, 175.

(1) Zamindars,—land-holding aristocracy of Bengal,—relics of old Mohammedan Empire. *Hunter*, 334, 335.

e. Extension of local government. *A. H. L. Frazer: Local Self-Government in India; Fortnightly Review*, vol. 39, 238 (1886).

Lord Ripon's policy, 1879–84; Ilbert bill. Extends benefits of local self-government. Ilbert bill to extend jurisdiction of native judges in criminal offences over Europeans.

f. Four Indian National Congresses:

In 1885 at Bombay; in 1886 at Calcutta; in 1887 at Madras; in 1888 at Allahabad.

Demands:

(1) Admission of Hindoo people to a share in the government of India.

(2) Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India as at present constituted.

(3) Admission of Hindoos on equal terms with English to the civil service of India, and upon competitive examination tests.

References: *R. S. Watson: Indian National Congress; The Contemporary Review*, July, 1888. *John Flagg: The National Indian Congress; Nineteenth Century*, vol. 19, 710 (May, 1886). *Sir Wm. H. Gregory: The Indian Mohammedans; Nineteenth Century*, vol. 20, 886 (Dec., 1886). *The Allahabad Congress; London* (Weekly) *Times*, Jan. 4, 1889, p. 12.

Reasons against representative government in India, strongly stated by Lord Dufferin. *London* (Weekly) *Times*, Dec. 7, 1888, p. 10. *N. Y. Nation*, Jan. 10, 1889, p. 26.

g. Unifying influences: *Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 462.

(1) Land system.

(2) Extension of Christian morality.

(3) Administration of justice by English courts.

(4) English language.

h. Wheat trade of India. *Hunter*, 384, 385; 452; *current numbers of Bradstreet's.*

6. Feudatory India. About 800 states, 20 or 30 large ones; area, 509,000 sq. mi.; popul., 55 m.; governed by native princes, advised by agents appointed by Viceroy; no right to make war or peace; some pay tribute. *Hunter*, 60.

7. Non-British possessions in India.

a. Portuguese,—Goa, Daman, and Diu on Western coast. Popul., 400,000.

b. French,—Pondicherry, southeastern coast. Popul. 300,000.

8. Ceylon, Crown Colony. *Cotton and Payne*, 152, 153.

9. Relations with Siam and the states of the Malay peninsula; most of the latter dependent on British Empire. Admirable commercial position of Singapore; occupied by the English, 1818–19.

B. The English and Russian Empires in Central Asia.

1. Russian encroachments upon Asia.

a. Possessions in 1750.

b. Lines of advance.

(1) Southeast from Oremberg. The Khanates of Khokand, Bokhara, and Khiva were acquired, 1881–84.

(2) Valley of Jaxartes to Oxus river.

(3) Southward on both sides of the Caspian.

c. Capture of Merv, 1884.

d. Herat, the Key to India.

e. The Trans-Caspian Railway, 1887. *A. Vambery: The Trans-Caspian Railway; Fortnightly Review*, vol. 41, p. 294.

f. Exclusion of all but Russian trade.

g. Destruction of the Turkoman slave trade. *Curzon: Visit to Bokhara the Noble; Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1889.

2. Relations of England and Russia to Afghanistan.

a. Afghanistan, subject to Persia until the first part of last century. No Afghan nation. Warlike tribes, most of whom are united under the sovereignty of the Ameers of Kabul. Fierce inter-tribal rivalries and jealousies. Religion, Mohammedan.

b. First Afghan war, 1839. *Müller*, 154. *Mc Carthy*, I, 151–180. *Hunter*, 309, 310.

War between England and the Afghans in 1839, on account of the advance of the Russians. England set up a friendly prince as ruler. At the instigation of the Russians the Afghans rose against the English, and defeated them disastrously. The English, however, soon gained supremacy, destroyed Candahar and Cabul, and then evacuated the country. England lost prestige on account of political and military mistakes.

"The permanent interest of this Afghan war arises from its being the first of a series of efforts to arrest or neutralize the steady advance of the Russian power to the mountains which form the northwestern frontier of India." *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 465.

c. Second Afghan war, 1878–81. *Müller*, 577–580. *Mc Carthy*, II, 617–619. *Hunter*, 326, 327.

In 1877, England made a treaty with the Prince of Beloochistan; Quetta and the road between Candahar and Cabul were granted for occupation. The Ameer of Afghanistan, Shere Ali, sought alliance with Russia. A mission was sent by the latter power; this, however, a breach of the understanding between England and Russia. An ambassador was therefore sent by England; he was denied admittance, and an English military force consequently advanced. At this juncture Shere Ali died. His son, Yakoob Khan, succeeded him. A treaty was made; a subsidy granted to the Ameer, and a resident agent of England appointed. A mutiny then occurred, followed by a massacre of English troops. Advance of General Roberts, and war. Abdurrahman recognized as the Ameer. English finally victorious. Candahar evacuated in 1881. Present supremacy of English influence.

3. Boundary disputes between England and Russia. Determination of the northern boundary of Afghanistan by a joint commission of English and Russians, in 1886–87. *Geo. N. Curzon: The Scientific Frontier an Accomplished Fact; Nineteenth Century*, June, 1888, p. 901.

4. Position of Pall Mall Gazette and Non-alarmists. It is claimed:
   a. The true scientific frontier is not the northern boundary of Afghanistan, but the Indus.
   b. Herat is not the key to India.
   c. England has no right to complain of Russian advance; matched by English policy of conquest.
   d. Impossible to make Afghanistan a "buffer" state since it is peopled by a variety of races in tribal condition.
   e. The true frontier is the great wall of India, consisting of the Suliman mountains. Few passes; the Indus is unfordable up to Peshawur.

   John Slagg: The True Scientific Frontier of India; Nineteenth Century, July, 1885, p. 151. *Henry Green: The Great Wall of India; Nineteenth Century*, May, 1885, p. 905.

5. Relations of England and Russia to Persia.

REFERENCES: *Claude Vincent: Through Persia; Contemp. Review*, vol. 49, p. 252 (Feb., 1886). *S. G. W. Benjamin: Persia.*

Area of Persia, 630,000 sq. mi., or one fifth of United States; largely a desert. Population, 7 m.

a. History. 632–651, A. D., all Persia conquered by Saracens, and gradually converted to Mohammedanism. Until 1747, a populous and more extensive state than at present. In that year Nadir Shah died, and the country fell into a state of anarchy, owing to rival claimants for the throne. At this period Afghanistan and Beloochistan separated from Persia, which became divided into a number of small independent states. In 1755, unity again established in western Persia. Wars with Russia and cessions of territory.

(1) 1797, territory along the Kur ceded to Russia.

(2) 1802, Georgia made a Russian province.

(3) 1811–13, surrender to Russia of all territory north of Armenia; Russia obtained right of navigation upon the Caspian.

(4) In 1826, lost all possessions in Armenia. In 1829, the popular exasperation toward Russia led to a mutiny resulting in the murder of many Russian officials. Further concessions, however, had to be made to Russia, and since that date the power of Persia has rapidly declined. In 1834–1848, through assistance of Russia and England, Mohammed Shah obtained the throne, but was constantly assailed by rivals. In 1856, Persia seized Herat, violat-

ing treaty with Great Britain; war and restoration in 1857.

(5) Seizure of territory at the northeastern frontier by Russia, 1883.

b. Government and administration.

a, Shah; *b*, Cabinet; *c*, Provinces; *d*, local government. Apathetic condition of people, no fleet, small army.

6. Present politics.

a. Russian ambition; a port on Persian Gulf; alleged will of Peter the Great: "hasten the decay of Persia, and penetrate to the Persian Gulf." Russia regards Persia already as a dependency.

b. After 1858, predominance of Russian trade and liberal use of Russian money and influence among Persian officials. In 1887–88, revival of English influence in Persia. Prohibition of Russian trade by Persia. In 1888, convention between Persia and England (Sir H. D. Wolff) opens the Karun river (southeast and central Persia) to the commerce of the world, *i. e.*, to England. *Russia and Persia*, *Spectator*, Dec. 15, 1888, p. 1758.

c. Hatred of Persians for Russia, on account of fear of conquest or annexation.

d. Russia and England control all approaches to Persia.

e. Importance of the question of religion.

LECTURE VIII.

CHINA. JAPAN.

REFERENCES: *J. H. Wilson: China, with a Glance at Japan. S. W. Williams: The Middle Kingdom.*

A. CHINA.

1. Chief geographical divisions: the 18 Provinces, or China proper, Mongolia, Manchuria, Corea, Ili, or Chinese Tatary, Bodyul,

or Tibet. One third larger than the United States; population, 404 m. China proper is about one third of the empire. *Wilson*, 63–68. *Williams*, I, 187–206, 237–257.

2. Opening of trade with China by Portuguese in 1516.
   - *a* From 1742 until 1834, almost a monopoly of commerce by English East India and Dutch trading companies; the tea trade; licensed Hong merchants. *Wilson*, 315.
   - *b.* 1834, Napier sent to force open trade with England. *Wilson*, 319. *Williams*, II, 464–474.
   - *c.* Smuggling of opium into China from India; efforts of Chinese government to stop the trade, 1834–39; opposition; English interests. *Wilson*, 321–324. *Williams*, II, 378–380, 501.
   - *d.* Opium war, 1839–42. *Wilson*, 324–340. *McCarthy*, I, 112–124. *Williams*, II, 463–546. *Müller*, 154.
   - *e.* War closed by Treaty of Nanking:
     (1) Five open ports to British trade;
     (2) Hong Kong ceded to England;
     (3) China paid $21 m.;
     (4) Official intercourse on terms of equality;
     (5) Tariff established. *Williams*, II, 546–553.

3. Taeping rebellion, 1850–64; religious rebellion; hostility of secret associations among the true Chinese to the Manchu dynasty which now rules China; Hung-Tre-Chuen; rebels professed to promulgate a new religion based on Christianity; immense loss of life; increasing hostility to foreigners; rebellion suppressed by aid of English Col. Gordon. *Williams*, II, 575–624. *Wilson*, 331–333.

"The Emperor Taow-Kwang, who died in 1850, during latter part of his reign became liberal, and favored the introduction of European arts; but his son, the late emperor, departed from his father's wise policy and adopted reactionary measures, particularly against English influence. An insurrection broke out in consequence, Aug., 1850, of alarming importance. The insurgents at first proposed only to expel the Tartars; but in March, 1851, a pretender was announced among them, first by the name of Tientch (Celestial Virtue), but afterwards assuming other names. He announced himself as the restorer of the worship of the true God, Shang-ti, but had derived many of his dogmas from the Bible. He declared himself monarch of all beneath the sky, true lord of China (and thus of the world), the brother of Jesus, and the Second Son of God, and demanded universal submission. His followers were termed Taepings. The Taepings, who began hostilities against the Imperialists, met with some success. Operations, suspended during war between France and England and China, were renewed in 1861. They sustained many reverses, and were defeated with great loss in Feb., 1864." *Ewald*, 122.

4. The *Arrow*, under British flag, boarded by Chinese in search of pirates, 1856; *McCarthy*, II, 9–19; wars, 1857–60; alliance of France and England; treaty of Peking; further concessions. *Wilson*, 336–342. *McCarthy*, II, 108–111, 175–183. *Williams*, II, 625–689.

5. Rapid progress among governing classes in China since 1860. Prince Kung (Ch'un), and Li-Hung-Chang. *Wilson*, ch. x. Great influence of the American, Anson Burlingame, 1868–70. Education of Chinese youth in the United States by order of Chinese government, 1872–81. *Williams*, II, 739, 740.

6. Dispute with Russia over a revolted portion of Chinese Tatary, 1871–81. Triumph of China, reconquest of district. Withdrawal of Russians.

7. Dispute with France about French protectorate over Tonquin, formerly a dependency of China, 1882–87. Unsettled relations still existing. Negotiations with Italy, Germany, and the Vatican concerning French protectorate of Chinese Catholics. *The Position of Roman Catholic Missionaries in China; London* (Weekly) *Times*, Jan. 4, 1889.

8. Corea; hereditary, absolute monarchy, and hereditary aristocracy; since 17th century formal acknowledgment of Chinese supremacy. Country closed entirely to foreigners until 1876–82. Area, 82,000 sq. mi. Popul. estimated at 11 m. Russian designs.

9. Political system of China.

a. Emperor, supreme. *Wilson*, 169–174, 179–181. *Williams*, I, 393–403.

b. Fundamental laws: first four books of Confucius; State governed as a private family. *Wilson*, 182, 183.

c. Central administration; ministers of state. *Wilson*, 184–192; the six boards of government; the Censor. *Wilson*, 192, 351. *Williams*, I, 415–433.

d. Provincial administration, 18 provinces. *Wilson*, 193–196. *Williams*, 1, 437–447.

e. Civil service; examinations. The "Peking Gazette," official organ of the government, published daily for the last 800 years. *Wilson*, 181. *J. N. Jordan: Modern China; Fortnightly Review*, vol. 20. *China, A New Departure; Western Review*, Sept., 1888, pp. 294–309.

10. Religion; the state religion is Confucianism; Taoism; popular religion is Buddhism; ancestral worship; 30 m. Mohammedans. *Williams*, II, 194–278.

11. Economic development.

a. Telegraphic communication admitted to Peking, as a result of trouble with Russia. Great popular prejudice against railways.

b. Navigation, commercial intercourse. *Wilson*, 363. *Williams*, II, 390–405.

c. Financial system. *Wilson*, 202–214.

B. JAPAN.

REFERENCES: *Wilson*, 13–18.

1. Geographical situation; four islands; area equals Dakota; population, 38 m.

2. History.

a. Lack of early records.

b. 3d century to 1192, the Mikado was supreme.

c. 1192–1868, dual government of Shogun, or Tycoon, and Mikado; Mikado rightful ruler; Shogun, at first ambitious minister representing powerful noble family, pushed Mikado into background; Mikado spiritual, and Shogun temporal authority.

d. 1854–78, conflict between Progressives and Reactionaries, precipitated by foreign intrusion.

e. 1868, revolution, and Mikado reässerted his authority.

f. 1871, feudalism abolished.

g. 1878, final overthrow of Reactionaries.

h. 1873–85, local representative institutions introduced; code of criminal law; Court, Council, and Cabinet; establishment of schools, telegraph, railways; Shinto religion, ancient national religion recognized as official; in 1881, Mikado promised full national Parliament, to be assembled in 1890.

3. Intercourse of Japan with foreign countries; 1854, treaty with United States, negotiated by Commodore M. C. Perry, marks introduction of Japan into circle of modern nations.

a. Extra-territorial jurisdiction of foreign nations in Japan. *New Princeton Review*, Mar., 1888.

b. Oppressive nature of treaty stipulations concerning duties on imports.

Efforts of Japan to obtain revision of treaties. *New Princeton Review*, Jan., 1888.

4. Increase of Newspapers.

Japanese in the United States.

a. Shinto-ism, Buddhism, Christianity.

5. Land System. *U. S. Consular Reports*, No. 75, Mar., 1887, 626.

LECTURE IX.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

REFERENCES: *Rambaud: History of Russia. A. F. Heard: The Russian Church and Russian Dissent. D. M. Wallace: Russia. L. Tikhomirov: Russia, Political and Social. Stepniak: The Russian Peasantry. George Kennan's* Articles in *The Century Magazine*, 1888–89.

1. Area about 8½ m. sq. mi. More than twice as large as the United States. Popul., about 104 m., of whom 68 m. are Slavs. Popul. increases at rate of more than 1 m. per annum.

2. Early history.

a. Not until the House of Romanoff succeeded to the throne, 1613, did Russia begin to grow powerful. *Rambaud*, I, 254, 258–262.

In 1613 Russia comprised Lapland, Central Russia, the valley of the Volga, and Western Siberia.

b. 1689–1725, Peter the Great; reforms; *Wallace's Russia*, 310, 311, 385–389. *Rambaud*, I, 296, 297, 303; II, 22–40.

Important changes.

(1) Admission of foreigners to trade and own land in Russia.

(2) Nobility to depend on service to the Czar.

(3) Forbade Asiatic customs of seclusion of women.

(4) Change of capital from Moscow to new city of St. Petersburg.

(5) Establishment of Boards of Control in Church and Departments of State.

(6) Improvement of local government of towns and provinces.

(7) Compulsory introduction of usages, inventions, manners, ideas of Western Europe.

(8) Acquisition of a seaboard, especially on the Baltic, and creation of a navy. *Rambaud*, II, 9. *Lodge*, 268–270, 284–287.

c. Fierce opposition to Peter from nobles, actuated by strong Russian feeling, and from adherents of old ecclesiastic order of things.

d. In 18th century, acquisition of Baltic provinces from Sweden (1717–21), of Black Sea region from Turkey (1792), and of Poland by divisions with Prussia and Austria (1772, 1793, 1795). *Rambaud*, II, 42–47, 94, 95, 117–126. *Lodge*, 448, 460, 471.

e. In 19th century, acquisition of Finland and the rest of the northern coast of Black Sea, Georgia, Persian Armenia, Southern Turkestan.

f. Alexander I, Czar 1801–25. Overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte began with his invasion of Russia, 1812. Alexander, founder of Holy Alliance (Russia, Austria, Prussia), 1815, to suppress rebellions against monarchy.

"Almighty Wisdom, in dividing the universe into different countries, has assigned to each a sovereign into whose hands the reins of absolute authority over the nations subject to his dominion are placed." Utterance of Congress of the Alliance at Laibach, 1821.

Liberal domestic policy. Polish disaffection and separate constitution, 1818. *Müller*, 86.

3. Nicholas I, Czar, 1825–55. *Rambaud*, II, 226, 227; 254. Change from the policy of Peter the Great; Russian forms and customs insisted upon. *Rambaud*, II, 229–232. European influences checked. *Müller*, 86, 87. Poland made a part of Russian empire, 1832. *Fyffe*, II, 390–398. *Rambaud*, II, 238–243.

"The late insurrection of Poland had determined Russia to put an end to its separate existence, and reduce it as much as possible to a Russian province. The University of Warsaw was suppressed, the archives, libraries, scientific collections, etc., were removed to St. Petersburg, the Polish uniform and colors were abolished, and the Polish soldiery incorporated into Russian regiments. The leading Poles were relegated to the interior of the Empire, and it is computed that 80,000 Poles were banished to Siberia. Polish children were taken from their parents and carried into the military colonies of Russia. Last, but not least, the Roman Catholic Church was persecuted agreeably to the Czar's Græco-Russian system." *Ewald*, 82.

4. The Crimean war, 1854–56. *Rambaud*, II, 248–258. Ruin of Nicholas's policy.

5. Alexander II, 1855–81. *Rambaud*, II, 255.

a. More liberal policy. *Rambaud*, II, 258, 259. *Müller*, 267.

b. 1861, gradual emancipation of the serfs; 23 millions set free. *Wallace*, 485–509. *Grant Duff: Studies in Euro-*

pean Politics, 71–85. *Rambaud*, II, 260–266. *Lodge*, 746. *Müller*, 26 7.

"By this decree the peasants attached to the soil were to be invested with all the rights of free-cultivators; the proprietors to grant to the peasants for a fixed regulated rental the full enjoyment of their holdings, after a term of years the peasants to become full owners; domestics to receive their full enfranchisement two years hence. To assist these measures in each district a court was to be established for the question of the peasants; justices of the peace were to be appointed in each district to investigate on the spot all disputes; communal administrations were to be organized in the seigneurial properties; a charter of rules was to be confirmed in each district in which were to be enumerated the amount of land to be reserved to the peasants in permanent enjoyment, and the extent of the charges to be exacted from them for the benefit of the proprietor. These charters were to be put into execution within the term of two years up to which time the peasants and domestics were to fulfil their former obligations without scruple." *Ewald*, 170.

c. Growth of Nihilism, 1871–81, the result of social upheaval of emancipation; 1871–77, demand for immediate re-organization of State on Socialistic basis; 1877–81, attempt to revenge the governmental prosecutions, and to terrorize Government by assassination; demands for a constitution; the secret police; transportation to Siberia. *Müller*, 569–572.

d. War with Turkey, 1877–78.

Effort to divert attention of Nihilists by foreign war, and to establish Russia's position as protector of Southern Slavs. Bulgaria set free. Annexation of Bessarabia. Progress of Russia towards Constantinople checked by England. Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

(1) Renewed Nihilist activity. In 1879–80, 60,000 political prisoners sent to Siberia without trial, and on suspicion alone.

e. Assassination of the Czar, March 13, 1881. *Müller*, 574.

6. Alexander III, 1881.

Policy of consolidating Empire upon Russian basis, by —

a. Opposition to use of any language but Russian.

b. Opposition to freedom of worship for Protestants and Roman Catholics.

c. Persecution of Jews.

d. Strict supervision of education in interest of Autocratic Government and of Orthodox Church of Russia.

7. Central government of the empire. *Wallace*, 194–212.

a. The Emperor; absolute hereditary monarchy.

b. The four councils or colleges. *Statesman's Year Book*, 1888, p. 413.

(1) Council of the Empire, consultative body, members appointed by Czar.

(2) Ruling Senate, a superior court of appeal.

(3) Holy Synod, since 1700, superior authority of the National Church, and controlled by the Procurator, the representative of the civil power.

(4) Committee of Ministers.

"In its present form the Russian administration seems at first sight a very imposing edifice. At the top of the pyramid stands the Emperor, the 'autocratic monarch,' as Peter the Great described him, who has to give an account of his acts to no one on earth, but has a power and authority to rule his states and lands as a Christian sovereign according to his own will and judgment. Immediately below the Emperor we see the Council of State, the Committee of Ministers, and the Senate, which represent respectively the legislative, the administrative, and the judicial power. An Englishman glancing over the first volume of the code might imagine the Council of State to be a kind of parliament, and the Committee of Ministers a ministry in our sense of the term, but in reality both are simply incarnations of the autocratic form. Though the Council is intrusted by law with many important functions, such as examining and criticising the annual budget, declaring war, concluding peace, etc., it has merely a consultative character, and the Emperor is not in any way bound by its decisions. The ministers are all directly and individually responsible to the Emperor, and therefore the Committee has no common responsibility or other cohesive force. As to the Senate, it has descended from its high estate. It was originally intrusted with the supreme power during the absence or minority of the monarch, and was intended to exercise a controlling influence in all sections of the administration, but now its activity is restricted to judicial matters, and it is little more than a supreme court of appeal." *Wallace*, 197, 198.

c. Tchinovniks, or the Bureaucracy, the civil and military service of the empire. *Wallace*, 200–212. *Stepniak*, 94–101.

8. Local government.

a. Empire divided into general governments, governments or provinces, and districts; the officers and their functions. *Statesman's Year Book*, 1888, p. 415.

b. The Zemstvos for a more general administration of the affairs of the district and province. *Wallace*, 213–228.

(1) District Zemstvos elected by landlords, towns-folk, and peasants.

(2) Provincial Zemstvos, formed of delegates from each District Zemstvos.

Supreme influence of Governor of the province.

c. Municipal self-government in towns since 1870.

Control of Governor.

d. The Mir (parish or commune). *Wallace*, 118–137. *Tikhomirov*, I, 115–127. *Rambaud*, I, 41, 42; power limited as to economic affairs.

"In European Russia the government of the parish, in so far as the lands of the peasantry are concerned, and part of the local administration are intrusted to the people. For this purpose, the whole country is divided into communes, which elect an elder, or executive of a commune, as also a tax collector or superintendent of public stores. All these officers are elected at communal assemblies by the peasants from among themselves. The

offices are more or less honorary. The communal assemblies are constituted by all the householders in the village, who discuss and decide all communal affairs. These communal assemblies are held as business requires. The communes are united into cantons, each embracing a population of about 2000 males. Each canton is presided over by an Elder, elected at the cantonal assemblies, which are composed of the delegates of the communal assemblies in proportion of one man to every ten houses. The canton assemblies decide the same class of affairs as do the communal assemblies, but each concerning its respective canton. The peasants have thus special institutions of their own, which are submitted also to special colleges for peasants' affairs, instituted in each government." *Statesman's Year Book*, 415, 416.

9. Grand duchy of Finland, ceded by Sweden, 1809 ; only province of European Russia not fully incorporated into empire.

a. National Parliament convoked once in four or five years, has control of taxation.

b. Senate, at head of judicial and administrative service of Finland.

c. Grand duke, — the Czar.

10. Poland, under separate administration from rest of empire, 1815–64. Rebellions, 1830–32, 1863. Absolute incorporation with Russia, 1868. *Müller*, 142, 399, 400.

11. Journalism and public opinion in Russia.

The Censorship. *Tikhomirov*, II, 93–97, 279–284.

12. Political parties in Russia. *Tikhomirov*, II, 141–147.

a. Panslavism, or the Slavophils. *Wallace*, 416–420.

b. Katkoff and the Moscow Gazette. *Contemp. Review*, Oct., 1887, pp. 504–522.

c. The Russian Peasants. *Stepniak.*

See also article in *Fortnightly Review*, 1886, vol. 40, pp. 595–604.

d. Nihilism and Democracy.

LECTURES X-XI.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY.

REFERENCES : *Grant Duff: Studies in European Politics*, ch. iii. *Francis Deák: A Memoir. Laveleye: The Balkan Peninsula. A. Vambery: The Story of Hungary. A. B. Malleson: Life of Prince Metternich.*

Area: Austria, 115,903 sq. mi.; popul., 22.5 m. Hungary, 125,039 sq. mi.; popul., 16⅓ m. Austria nearly twice as large as New England.

A. The supremacy of Austria, 1815–67.

1. Destruction of old German empire by Napoleon I, in 1806. Francis, Archduke of Austria, head of Hapsburg House, which had held dignity of German Emperor since 1438, declared Emperor of Austria, 1806.

2. Austrian dominions included (1815) Hungary and its dependencies, Galicia, Bohemia and Moravia, Venice and Lombardy in Italy, and Austrian influence reigned in all Italian States except in the kingdom of Piedmont, or Sardinia.

3. At the close of the Napoleonic wars, the Germanic Confederation was formed (June 10, 1815); 39 states and four free cities; permanent Diet at Frankfort. *Grant Duff: Studies in European Politics*, 257–260. *J. R. Seeley: Life and Times of Stein (Tauchnitz ed.)*, IV, 31. Austria predominant in the confederation. Timid policy of Prussia.

4. The Constitution of the Confederation.

a. Agreement of states not to declare war against each other or form injurious alliances.

b. Disputes between states to be referred to central Diet.

c. To contribute to confederate army according to population.

d. Certain military forts made the property of the confederation.

e. Constitutional government to be established in each state.

f. Weakness of the constitution; people not represented in central Diet.

g. Chief purpose of Austrian policy,— to prevent any more revolutions.

"There were two things of which they were mortally afraid, Russia and the revolution." *Grant Duff.*

Prominence in the Holy Alliance. (See Lecture IX.)

5. Metternich (1815–48), reactionary statesman of Austria, leading champion of arbitrary government in Europe. *Müller*, 220, 221. *Lodge*, 609, 622, 637, 651, 669, 688. *McCarthy*, II, 338. *Grant Duff*, 143–144.

"Metternich described his system with equal simplicity and precision as an attempt neither to innovate nor to go back to the past, but to keep things as they were. In the old Austrian dominions this was not so difficult to do, for things had no tendency to move, and remained fixed of themselves; but on the outside, both on the north and on the south, ideas were at work, which, according to Metternich, ought never to have entered the world, but, having unfortunately gained admittance, made it the task of Govern-

ments to resist their influence by all available means. Stein and the leaders of the Prussian War of Liberation had agitated Germany with hopes of national unity, of Parliaments, and of the impulsion of the executive powers of state by public opinion. Against these northern innovators Metternich had already won an important victory in the formation of the Federal Constitution. The weakness and timidity of the king of Prussia made it probable that, although he was now promising his subjects a Constitution, he might at no distant date be led to unite with other German Governments in a system of repression, and in placing Liberalism under the ban of the Diet. In Italy, according to the conservative statesman, the same dangers existed and the same remedies were required." *Fyffe*, II, 82.

a. Austria's condition under Metternich's methods.

"Austria must make herself felt, not by her military strength, but through the skill of her diplomats and the omnipresence of her police and her spies. This was Metternich's chosen field, while the emperor found his pleasure in the details of the police system, which was developed under him into a system of espionage of the most unworthy sort. This was, however, admirably adapted to that patriarchal system in accordance with which the government, so far from denying its Oriental views, even dared to inculcate on its subjects the doctrine that the sovereign 'has full powers over their lives and property.' No less care was exercised in shutting up Austria against other lands. The influx of foreign intellects and intellectual products was guarded against like the smuggling in of the cattle plague. Study in foreign universities was forbidden. The entrance into Austrian schools of foreign teachers, and of scholars over ten years of age, was forbidden, and even for younger children special permission had to be obtained. The imparting of private instruction was rendered very difficult, permission being granted by the police only under oppressive conditions, and even revocable every six years. All political literature, as well as modern histories, was subjected to strict censorship, with a view to police prohibition. . . . . And as for popular instruction, scarcely three fifths of the children of school age attended school, and those who attended were, with the teachers, confined to a mechanical drill from which the *why* and *wherefore* were carefully excluded. The object was not to produce savants, but subjects and officials trained to blind obedience. For this purpose no guard and overseer could be more effective than the clergy. Upon their religious certificate depended every advance in the gymnasiums and universities, and confession was exacted from teachers and scholars six times yearly. It will be readily understood that the Protestants were much oppressed, — hardly tolerated. Upon purchasing a house, upon assuming a trade, they were obliged to apply for a dispensation. To enter the military academy in Vienna-Neustadt, they must abjure their religion." *Müller*, 5, 6.

6. Metternich and Austria antagonized by —

a. German Liberals desiring Constitutional government in Germany.

b. Italian patriots, desiring freedom and unity of Italy.

c. Magyars (or Hungarians), desiring to free Hungary from Austrian control.

d. Slavs, of Hungary and Galicia, hostile both to Austrian Germans and Hungarian Magyars.

7. In Germany, agitation among the students and the Karlsbad conference, 1820. *Seeley: Stein*, IV, 148, 149. Under leadership of Metternich, agreement was made to —

a. Restrict freedom of press.

b. Restrict university teaching.

c. Forbid societies and political meetings. *Müller*, 12–18. *Lodge*, 638.

8. Rebellions against despotism in Italy, 1821, 1831, suppressed by Austrian troops.

a. Revolutionary agitation in Germany checked by Austria, 1833.

9. Hungary, including Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia (town of Fiume), separate kingdom, with a constitution dating from 891. *Vambery*, 9, 10. Diet of two houses must, by constitution, be convoked every three years.

Austrian disregard of Hungarian laws. *Vambery*, 398, 399.

a. Metternich yielded to Magyar discontent in view of possible complications with Russia over Greek war for independence. Hungarian Diet convened at Presburg (for first time in nineteen years), 1825.

Emperor Francis disavows tyranny of his officers.

b. Széchenyi. *Francis Deák*, 8. *Vambery's Hungary*, 400–411.

"Great schemes of social and material improvement also aroused the public hopes in these years. The better minds became conscious of the real aspect of Hungarian life in comparison with that of civilized Europe,—of its poverty, its inertia, its boorishness. Extraordinary energy was thrown into the work of advance by Count Széchenyi, a nobleman whose imagination had been fired by the contrast which the busy industry of Great Britain and the practical interests of its higher classes presented to the torpor of his own country. It is to him that Hungary owes the bridge uniting its double capital at Pesth, and that Europe owes the unimpeded navigation of the Danube, which he first rendered possible by the destruction of the rocks known as the Iron Gates, at Orsova. Sanguine, lavishly generous, an ardent patriot, Széchenyi endeavored to arouse men of his own rank, the great and powerful in Hungary, to the sense of what was due from them to their country as leaders in its industrial development. He was no revolutionist, nor was he an enemy to Austria. A peaceful, political future would best have accorded with his own designs for raising Hungary to its due place among the nations." *Fyffe*, II, 481, 482.

10. Death of Emperor Francis I, and succession of Ferdinand, a weak ruler, 1835. *Müller*, 163. *Lodge*, 688, 797. *Grant Duff*, 150, 151.

11. Revolution in France, 1848; spread through Europe; uprisings in Hungary and in all parts of Italy. *Müller*, 186–191, 203–211. *Lodge*, 682–686.

a. Revolution in Vienna. *Lodge*, 696. Flight of Metternich, abdication of Ferdinand in favor of Francis Joseph I, 1848. *Müller*, 221–230. *Lodge*, 688–690. *Grant Duff*, 158–164.

b. March, 1848, resolves of meeting at Frankfort to call a national German constituent assembly. *Müller*, 221–230, 239. *Lodge*, 690. *Grant Duff*, 260, 261.

c. May, 1848, formation of a German National Assembly (*Müller*, 215), and dissolution of old confederate Diet. *Lodge*, 702.

d. New constitution for the German Empire, and offer of imperial dignity to Prussia. Opposition of Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemburg. King of Prussia declines the offer.

e. Two parties in Germany.

(1) The Kleindeutsche party, wishing Prussia to be at the head of the Confederation to the exclusion of Austria.

(2) The Great German (Grossdeutsche) party, favoring the inclusion of Austria. *Müller*, 231.

f. Rupture between Prussia and Austria. Czar Nicholas of Russia interferes on side of Austria. End of Assembly and new Constitution, 1851. Restoration of old Diet and the Confederation of 1815.

12. Austria conquers kingdom of Sardinia (Charles Albert), which had taken sides with anti-Austrian party in Italy. *Müller*, 203–211.

13. Uprising of Magyars, 1848–49; demand of Hungary for independence conceded by establishment of separate ministry for Hungary, 1848. Intrigues of Austrian Court against its Hungarian ministers. *Deák*, 85–92. *McCarthy*, I, 382–387. *Müller*, 241–248. *Lodge*, 695–698. *Grant Duff*, 152–157. Burdens of the peasantry. *Deák*, 17–20.

a. Rupture between Hungarian Diet and Francis Joseph, the new Emperor of Austria. Francis Joseph disregards Diet's right to elect the King of Hungary. *Deák*, 100–105.

b. Kossuth.

"On emerging from prison under a general amnesty in 1840, Kossuth undertook the direction of a Magyar journal at Pesth, which at once gained an immense influence throughout the country. The spokesman of a new generation, Kossuth represented an entirely different order of ideas from those of the orthodox defenders of the Hungarian Constitution. They had been conservative and aristocratic; he was revolutionary; their weapons had been drawn from the storehouse of Hungarian positive law; his inspiration was from the Liberalism of western Europe. Thus within the national party itself there grew up sections in more or less pronounced antagonism to one another, though all were united by a passionate devotion to Hungary, and by an unbounded faith in its future. Széchenyi, and those who with him subordinated political to material ends, regarded Kossuth as a dangerous theorist." *Fyffe*, II, 483.

c. Deák. *Francis Deák: a Memoir, with Preface* by *Grant Duff*. See in particular ch. iii.

"Between the more impetuous and the more cautious reformers stood the recognized Parliamentary leaders of the Liberals, among whom Deák had already given proof of political capacity of no mean order." *Fyffe*, II, 484.

d. Successful appeal of the Austrian government to Russia to assist in putting down the rebellion. *Deák*, ch. 14.

e. Suppression of revolt; repression of revolutionary sentiment; arbitrary treatment of Hungary by Austrian government.

14. War of Austria with France and Sardinia, 1859.

a. Attempt of Austria to gain assistance of the other states of the confederation; checked by Prussia. *Müller*, 278–280. *Lodge*, 719.

b. Austria unsuccessful; loss of Lombardy; retention of Venetia.

15. Schleswig-Holstein question. *Müller*, 213–219, 267, 309–326. *Lodge*, 690, 691, 709, 727. *McCarthy*, II, 244–253.

16. Austro-Prussian war, 1866.

a. Causes. *Müller*, 335–355. *Lodge*, 729, 730. *McCarthy*, II, 336.

"The desire of the German people for greater unity, and the impossibility of reaching a re-organization of Germany with a strong central government, as long as two great powers confronted one another in the German Confederation, one having a population largely non-Germanic, with non-Germanic interests.

"Special cause: the quarrel about the future of the North Albingian duchies. Austria wished the Crown Prince of Augustenberg to be recognized as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and join the confederation as a sovereign prince. Prussia demanded that in case a new small state, Schleswig-Holstein, was created:

(1) 'Its whole military force should become an integral part of the Prussian army and fleet, and its postal and telegraph systems be united with those of Prussia;

(2) 'That several important military posts should be given to Prussia, to enable her to undertake the necessary protection of the new state against Denmark.'

"Reason for participation of Italy in the war; the favorable opportunity of acquiring Venice." *Ploetz*, 507.

b. Results: Peace of Prague. *Müller*, 355–357.

(1) "The Emperor of Austria recognized the dissolution of the German Confederation, and consented to a re-organization of Germany without Austria, and agreed to annexations contemplated by Prussia. A special condition secured Saxony from an alteration of her boundary.

(2) "Austria transferred to Prussia her rights in Schleswig-Holstein, with the reservation that the northern district of Schleswig should be re-united with Denmark, should inhabitants express desire for such re-union by free popular vote (reservation rescinded, 1878).

(3) "Austria paid 20 m. rix dollars for costs of the war.

(4) "At request of Prussia, Venice was ceded to Italy." *Ploetz*, 510.

17. Complete disorganization of Austria after the war of 1866. Financial disorder. Magyars, under Deák, refuse aid unless their political independence is recognized. February 8, 1867, Hungary's demands conceded. The dual empire of the Austro-Hungarian empire established. Restoration of Magyar constitution of 1848. Francis Joseph crowned King of Hungary at Pesth. Constitutional government fully established in the Cisleithian Empire (Austria and dependencies), as well as in the Transleithian kingdom (Hungary and dependencies). Transylvania and Croatia attached to Hungary. Perfection of a federal government for the dual monarchy.

a. Complete overthrow of the Metternich system of internal administration in Austria. Modification of legal supremacy of Roman Catholic Church.

"The constitution of 1861 was revised, and adopted in its revised form on the 21st of December, 1867. This conferred upon the people and their representatives rights and privileges of the greatest importance, — equality of all citizens before the law, freedom of Press, right of associating and meeting, complete liberty of faith and conscience, the unrestricted right to impose taxes and levy recruits, etc. . . . . The marriage law restored civil marriage to the statute book, in so far as it introduced permissive civil marriage, depriving the clergy of all jurisdiction in the premises and conferring it upon the courts. The school law took the control of education, with the exception of religious education, away from the church, and gave it to the state. The interconfessional law regulated the religious obligations of children in case of mixed marriages, change of confession, burials, and the like. By the concordat the children of one Protestant and one Roman Catholic parent must be educated in the faith of the latter; by the new law, male children followed the father, and female the mother." *Muller*, 373, 375: see also *Muller*, 484.

18. After Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78, occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, 1878. *Laveleye*, chs. iii and iv. Rebellion against Austria in Herzegovina. *Müller*, 553, 555, 587.

a. Intimate relations between Austro-Hungary and the German Empire date from Berlin Congress of 1878. Bismarck's desire to see Austro-Hungary powerful in the Balkan region. *Müller*, 587, 588.

b. Hatred of Hungarians for Russia.

c. The subject Slavs. Bishop Strossmayer. *Laveleye*, ch. ii.

19. Central government.

The Cisleithian empire and the Transleithian kingdom are united under the hereditary rule of the House of Austria (Hapsburg); each realm has its own parliament, ministers, and government; while the connecting tie is a common sovereign, army, navy, diplomacy, and a common parliament called the Delegations. *Statesman's Year Book*, 6. *Deák*, ch. 29.

a. The Delegations, 120 members, chosen by the Parliaments of each kingdom, one half from each kingdom, have jurisdiction over foreign affairs, common finances, and war.

b. The three executive departments, Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance, responsible to the Delegations; Minister of Foreign Affairs, chief officer of the monarchy.

20. Local government.

A. Austria.

1. The Constitution of 1867. *Lodge*, 731, 732.

a. Provincial Diets.

(1) 17 provinces, each having a Diet of one assembly.

(2) Members of the Diet: (*a*) archbishops and bishops; (*b*) representatives of great estates; (*c*) representatives of towns; (*d*) representatives of boards of commerce and guilds; (*e*) representatives of rural communes.

(3) Functions: local administration, taxation, agriculture, educational and charitable institutions, public works.

b. Central Diet, or Reichsrath.

(1) Upper House, or Herren-haus; consists, 1st, of the princes of the Imperial family (13); 2d, of a number of nobles (53), possessing large landed property, in whose families the dignity is hereditary; 3d, of the archbishops (10), and bishops (7), who are of princely title, inherent in their episcopal seat; 4th, of any other life-members nominated by the Emperor, on account of being distinguished in art or science, or rendering signal services to Church or State (105). *Statesman's Year Book*, 7.

(2) Lower House or Abgeordneten-haus, 353 members, elected by citizens, 24 years of age, and possessing small property qualifications.

c. Executive Ministers, eight departments, Council of the Emperor, responsible to Reichsrath since 1870.

B. Hungary.

1. The Constitution of 1867; Francis Deák. *Deák*, 259–269.

a. Legislative power rests in King and Parliament (Reichstag). Two Houses.

(1) House of Magnates, hereditary peers (286); representatives of Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant churches (51); life-Peers (50); officers of state (16); delegate from Croatia-Slavonia (1); Archdukes (20).

(2) House of Representatives, 453, including 40 from Croatia-Slavonia, elected by citizens 20 years old, with small property qualifications.

b. Executive Ministry, responsible, nine departments.

The Croats.

2. Local Diet at Agram, for Croatia-Slavonia, granted by Hungary (influence of Deák), 1868; control of local affairs; 55 per cent of revenues paid into Hungarian treasury.

a. Chief Executive of Croatia-Slavonia (title of Ban) appointed by King of Hungary. *Deák*, 284, 285.

b. Parties in Croatia and political purposes. *Laveleye*, 151–166.

20. Political parties and tendencies.

a. The Czech (Tschek) movement; to establish an autonomous government for Bohemia like that of Hungary. *Contem-*

porary Review, Dec., 1884, pp. 815–819. Known as the Autonomists, or Federalists. *Müller*, 483, 588.

b. Panslavism. *Laveleye: Balkan Peninsula*, 3, 4; 171, 172.

c. Parties in Lower House of Austrian Reichsrath actuated by racial antagonisms.

(1) German party, ... } Moderately liberal, weakened by its opposition to occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1879.
(2) German-Austrian party, .
(3) Center party, ... }
(4) German clerical party, . } Conservative.
(5) Czech party, ...
(6) Polish party, ...
(7) Slavonic party, ...
(8) Italian party, ...
(9) Trentino party, ...
(10) Croatian party, ...
(11) Ruthenian party, . . .
(12) Anti-Semitic party.
(13) "Wilde" (Free-lance) party.

LECTURES XII-XIII.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE REVOLTED CHRISTIAN STATES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA —

MONTENEGRO, ROUMANIA, GREECE, SERVIA, BULGARIA.

REFERENCES: *Laveleye: The Balkan Peninsula. R. G. Latham: Russian and Turk. Lewis Sergeant: New Greece. Lane-Poole: Turkey; Story of the Nations Series. David Urquhart: The Spirit of the East*, 2 vols.

A. Empire of the Ottoman Turks to 1878.

1. Early history of the Turks.

a. The Ottoman Turks appeared in history in 1240; gradually acquired province after province from the old Eastern Roman empire; finally established themselves in Constantinople in 1453. *Lodge*, 19. *Fisher: Outlines of Universal History*, 352, 353.

b. About 1550, the kingdom of the Turks reached its greatest power, including all Asia Minor to the Persian frontier; Arabia, Egypt, and all North Africa to Morocco; the whole Balkan peninsula, from the southernmost extremity of Greece to the southern boundary of Poland, including all but the extreme western portion of Hungary, and including the Tatar regions along the north shore of the Black Sea; 1683, siege of Vienna; Hungary recovered by Austria, 1682–99; Barbary states of North Africa become only nominally dependent during 17th and 18th centuries; Montenegro (Czernagora) rebelled successfully, 1700. *Lodge*, 208, 209. Shifting of territory between Turkey, Austria, and Russia, 1768–74, Catharine's first war against Turkey, by which Russia gained territory in the Crimea, and right of navigation for trading vessels on the Black Sea. *Fyffe*, II, 258. *Lodge*, 449. *McCarthy*, I, 453–455. Wallachia and Moldavia restored to native rulers, for whom Russia was henceforth to be the Protector at Constantinople. War closed by peace of Kutschouc Kainardji. *Fyffe*, II, 259, 260; six important points in this treaty. *Ploetz*, 412.

(1) The Tatars were released from allegiance to Turkey, and brought under Russian influence.

(2) Russia obtained a firm footing on the north coasts of the Black Sea (Crimea), pushing back the Turkish frontier to the river Boug.

(3) The frontier line between the two powers in Asia was left much as it was before the war.

(4) Russia stipulated for an embassy at Constantinople, and for certain privileges for Christians in Turkey.

(5) Russia exacted promises for the better government of the principalities, reserving the right of remonstrance if these were not kept.

(6) Russia obtained a declaration of her right of free commercial navigation in Turkish waters. All subsequent controversies between the Porte and Russia may be referred to one of these six heads. *Ploetz*, 412.

c. Gradual encroachment of Russia by successive wars. From the Boug river to the Dniester (1792), then to the Pruth (1812). *Müller*, 89, 90.

Servia partly autonomous; England becomes diplomatically powerful at Constantinople; Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. *N. Y. Nation*, Dec. 27, 1888, p. 522.

d. Egypt becomes only nominally dependent, 1811–41; Mehemet Ali; England forces from Turkey a promise of justice to Christians, an empty promise.

2. 1821–29, Greek Independence. *Lodge*, 650–656. *Fyffe*, II, 268–280, 285–300, 305–312, 345. *Müller*, 70–73. For the Eastern question in general before the Crimean war, see *McCarthy*, I, 433–461. For a sketch of the previous condition of Greece, see *Fyffe*, II, 237–262.

a. Russian interference after accession of Nicholas in behalf of Christian subjects of Sultan. Loss of territory in Armenia. Gradual rise of Servia and the Danubian principalities. Treaties of Akerman (1826), of London (1827), of Adrianople (1829). *Latham: Russian and Turk*, 48–51.

b. The Turkish Janissaries: their destruction, 1826. *Müller*, 88.

3. Crimean war, 1853–56. *Müller*, 253–264. *Lodge*, 743–745.

a. Causes: ambition of Nicholas I: protectorate over all Christians of Greek church. *McCarthy*, I, 475–517. *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, I, 81–87.

"The guardianship and possession of certain places at Jerusalem were for many years the source of contest between Christians belonging to the Greek and Latin churches. These spots, known as Holy Places, are hallowed from a supposed connection with our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, or the early disciples. Amongst them the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on Mt. Calvary, in which the sepulchre of Christ is said to exist, occupies a prominent position. In 1690, this Holy Sepulchre was appropriated to the Latins, and though other Christians might enter for private devotions, the Latins alone were allowed to celebrate mass therein. It afforded constant matter of dispute, and France always appeared as champion of the Latin Church, and Russia in modern times espoused the cause of the Greek, for the conflict was at length confined to these rival sects. In 1740, a treaty was signed between France and the Porte, having special reference to this question. In 1757, a serious outbreak occurred at Jerusalem, and the holy sanctuaries were placed under the protection of the Greek monks. Thus the rights and privileges granted to the Latins by the treaty of 1740 were gradually encroached upon by successive decrees issued at Constantinople in favor of Greek Christians. For many years these matters were fiercely contested at Jerusalem. In 1850, the French government directed their representative at Constantinople to effect some arrangement. The Turkish Government admitted the justice of the French claims, and affairs were progressing when the Emperor Nicholas, favoring the interests of the Greek Church, wrote a letter to the Sultan, requiring his adherence to the *status quo*. Pressed by these formidable rivals, the Sultan knew not how to act; and as the discussion was prolonged, Nicholas gradually disclosed his real intentions. An arrangement was nearly concluded in 1852; but toward the close of the year the Czar set the forces of his empire in motion. In Feb., 1853, Prince Menschikoff repaired to Constantinople, as extraordinary ambassador from Russia; and, although the

real nature of his mission did not at first transpire, it soon became evident that the ruin of Turkey was intended." Condensed from *Ewald*, 128, 129.

"In his conferences with the English ambassador in St. Petersburg, Sir Hamilton Seymour, Nicholas called Turkey a "sick man," whom no doctor could help, so that it was already time to come to some definite agreement about his inheritance. According to his plan, Servia, Bulgaria, and Bosnia were to be made independent states, and with Moldavia and Wallachia, to be placed under the Russian protectorate. If England wished to appropriate Egypt and Candia, Russia had no objection. In his opinion, England and Russia were the only countries concerned, as they were the only ones who had a tangible interest in Turkey, and if they agreed about the transaction, there was no need of consulting the other powers." *Muller*, 254.

b. Peace of Paris, 1856.

(1) Russia ceded the mouths of the Danube and a small portion of Bessarabia, on the left bank of the lower Danube.

(2) Russia renounced the one-sided protectorate over the Christians in Turkey, and over the principalities of the Danube.

(3) Russia restored Kars, and promised not to establish any arsenals upon the Black Sea, nor to maintain there more ships than the Porte.

(4) The Western powers restored Sebastopol to Russia, after having destroyed the docks, the constructions in the harbor, and the fortifications. *Ploetz*, 501. *Lodge*, 745. *Müller*, 264–266. *Mc Carthy*, I, 517–523.

(5) Promise of justice to Christians renewed. Hat Humayun, 1856.

"England, which had accomplished nothing great, either at sea or on land, was regarded as on the decline. The Chancellor of the Russian Empire, Prince Alexander Gortschakoff, a brother of the General, in his circular of Sept. 2, 1856, described Russia's new programme in the words, 'Russia does not repine, she collects herself' (La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille). Against Austria, which had 'astonished the world by its ingratitude,' Russia cherished a most bitter grudge, while it recognized Prussia's favorable attitude by friendly approaches." *Muller*, 265.

4. Revolt of Christians in Syria, 1860; temporary occupation by the French. *Müller*, 266.

5. Wallachia and Moldavia united as Roumania, 1861; a blow to Turkish power. *Mc Carthy*, I, 518. *Müller*, 266.

6. Revolt of Crete, which led to ill feeling between Turkey and Greece, 1866. *Lodge*, 448. Western powers interfere. *Mc Carthy*, II, 585. *Müller*, 398.

7. Continued revolts, 1870–75. *Lodge*, 749, 750. Virtual independence of Egypt; revolt in Servia. *Mc Carthy*, II, 585, 586.

8. Revolt in Herzegovina, 1874. *Mc Carthy*, II, 587, 588. *Müller*, 505–508. *Lodge*, 748. Turkish system of taxation; demands of the rebels; *a*, reform in taxation; *b*, native instead of Turkish officials;

c, native militia. Sympathy and support of Servia and Montenegro. *Müller*, 511. *Mc Carthy*, II, 597.

a. The Sultan Abdul Aziz, deposed by the Turkish war party. His successor, Murad V, deposed in thirteen months, for idiocy. Accession of Abdul Hamid II, 1876. *The Death of Abdul Aziz and of Turkish Reform ; Nineteenth Century*, vol. 23, p. 276.

9. Bulgarian atrocities ; policy of Turkey towards Bulgaria one of repression by harsh abuse and even massacre ; revolt in 1876 ; the Bashi-Bazouks, *Lodge*, 749. *Müller*, 514–517. *Mc Carthy*, II, 591–594. *Gladstone: Bulgarian Horrors.*

a. War declared by Servia and Montenegro, under Russian instigation, 1876 : interference by the great powers unsuccessful because they demanded rights of guardianship over Turkey, while Turkey would grant nothing but promises of reform.

10. Russia declared war against Turkey, 1877, as protector of oppressed Christians, and especially Slavonic Christians in Turkey. 1877–78, Turco-Russian war. *Lodge*, 750. *Müller*, 518–545. *Mc-Carthy*, II, 600–603.

11. Concluded by peace of San Stefano, which aroused great opposition from western powers as too favorable to Russian interests. *Müller*, 545–548. *Lodge*, 751. *Mc Carthy*, II, 602–605.

12. Congress of Berlin, June, 1878. Principal conditions :

a. Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, became independent, but the cessions to be made to the two former states were somewhat reduced, while the territory which Roumania was to receive in exchange for Bessarabia was somewhat enlarged.

b. The principality of Bulgaria was limited to the country between the Danube and the Balkans, including, however, Sofia and its territory.

c. The southern portion of Bulgaria, with its boundaries considerably narrowed toward the south and west, was left under the immediate rule of the Sultans, with the title Province of East Roumelia, but received a separate militia, and administration under a Christian governor-general ; only in specified cases could it be occupied by regular Turkish troops.

d. The Russian troops were to evacuate E. Roumelia and Bulgaria inside of nine months, Roumania inside of a year.

e. The Porte ceded to Austria the military occupation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the military occupation of the Sandshak of Novi Bazar.

f. The Porte was advised to cede a part of Epirus and Thessaly to Greece.

g. Russia received in Asia, Batoum, Kars, Adaghan, and some border territories.

h. In Turkey, and all the states which had been separated from her, there should be political equality of all confessions.

i. Turkey promised reforms in the Armenian provinces, and security of Armenians from attacks of robber Kurds. *h* and *i* have not been adhered to. Armenians worse treated than before. *Ploetz*, 524. *Lodge*, 751. *Müller*, 550–552. *McCarthy*, II, 606–612.

13. Cyprus given to England, 1878. *Statesman's Year Book*, 534.

a. Intervention of England in Egypt, 1882.

B. MONTENEGRO.

Area, 3630 sq. mi., about ⅔ the size of Connecticut. Popul., 250,000; same blood as the Servians.

History:

1. Declaration of independence of Turkey, 1700. Establishment of hereditary hierarchical government permitted, but not recognized by Turkey. Union of church and state under one head, called Vladika, 1700–1851.

2. 1851, the Vladika renounces the priestly dignity and becomes a temporal prince; war with Turkey.

a. Display of friendship for Russia in Crimean war rewarded by yearly payment.

b. Accession of Nikita, 1861.

3. Begins with Servia the war against Turkey (1876), which led to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78.

a. Independence recognized by Congress of Berlin, with cessions of territory, but under restrictions favorable to Austria. *Müller*, 553, 554.

b. The Dulcigno demonstration. *Müller*, 561–563.

4. Relations with Russia; hostility to Austria and to Albanians.

5. Government. Hereditary prince has absolute power.

a. State Council, 8 members, 4 elected by the people.

b. Inhabitants divided into tribes, each under elected "Elders."

6. Land laws, to prevent large estates. *Laveleye*, 281, 282.

C. Roumania.

Reference: *James Samuelson: Roumania, Past and Present.*

Area, 48,307 sq. mi., about the size of North Carolina. Popul., about 5½ m. About 4 m. Roumanians live in countries bordering Roumania. A race of mixed origin, the Vlach, or Wallach.

History.

1. Known as "Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia." First relief from Turkish rule by Russo-Turkish war, 1768–74. Native rulers, but dependent on Turkey.

2. Greek insurrection begins in the principalities, 1821. Placed under protection of Russia. Treaty of Adrianople, 1829.

3. Autonomy under the suzerainty of Turkey guaranteed at end of Crimean war; union of two provinces under the name of Roumania, and under one elected Hospodar, or Prince, 1859–61. Alexander Couza.

4. Navigation of the Danube. The European Commission, 1856. *Eugene Schuyler: American Diplomacy*, 352–363. *Laveleye: Balkan Peninsula*, 366, 367.

5. Emancipation of peasants from serf-labor, 1864. A peasant proprietary. The weight of indebtedness, Jewish money-lenders. *Laveleye*, 344–346. *J. D. Bourchier: The Fate of Roumania, Fortnightly Review*, Dec., 1888.

a. Jewish question. *Müller*, 563, 564. *Laveleye*, 361, 362.

6. Constitution (almost exact copy of that of Belgium), 1866, modified 1879 and 1884, and election of Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, as hereditary prince. *Laveleye*, 342, 343.

7. Alliance with Russia against Turkey, 1877. Important services of Roumanian army at Plevna; declared independent, 1877; and independence guaranteed by Congress of Berlin, 1878; loss of territory east of the Pruth to Russia; recognized as a kingdom, 1881.

8. Government, hereditary constitutional monarchy.

a. Political parties; Conservatives, pro-Russian; National Liberals (Jean Bratiano), anti-Russian.

Triumph of Conservatives, 1888. Russian intrigues.

D. Greece.

Area, 25,000 sq. mi.; 3 times Massachusetts. Popul., 2½ m.; about 5½ m. more under Turkish rule.

1. From the 16th century until 1821–29, Greece was governed as a province of Turkey.

"The forward movement of the Greek nation may be said, in general terms, to have become visible during the first half of the eight-

eenth century. Serfage had then disappeared; the peasant was either a freeholder or a farmer, paying a rent in kind for his land. In the gradual and unobserved emancipation of the laboring class, the first condition of national revival had already been fulfilled. The peasantry had been formed which, when the conflict with the Turk broke out, bore the brunt of the long struggle. In comparison with the Prussian serf, the Greek cultivator at the beginning of the eighteenth century was an independent man; in comparison with the English laborer, he was well fed and well housed. The evils to which the Greek population was exposed, wherever Greeks and Turks lived together, were those which brutalized or degraded the Christian races in every Ottoman province. There was no redress for injury inflicted by a Mohammedan official or neighbor. If a wealthy Turk murdered a Greek in the fields, burnt down his house, and outraged his family, there was no court where the offender could be brought to justice. The term by which the Turk described his Christian neighbor was 'our rayah,' that is, 'our subject.' A Mohammedan landowner might terrorize the entire population around him, carry off the women, flog and imprison the men, and yet feel that he had committed no offence against the law; for no law existed but the Koran, and no Turkish court of justice but that of the Kadi, where the complaint of the Christian passed for nothing." *Fyffe*, II, 238, 239.

a. Phanariotes.

b. Klephts. *Sergeant*, 258–260.

c. Hetæria. *Fyffe*, II, 265–270.

d. Ionian Ilands under British Protectorate, 1815–62. *Sergeant*, 397, 398.

2. The Greek Church. *Fyffe*, II, 243, 244; 249, 250.
3. War of Independence, 1821–29. *Lodge*, 650–657.
   a. Unsuccessful rising of Ipsilanti.
   b. General revolt. *Fyffe*, II, 273–285.
   c. Interference of the Great Powers. Selfish diplomacy of Russia and England. *Sergeant*, 278–280, 350–352.
   d. Battle of Navarino. *Fyffe*, II, 330–334.
   e. Philohellenism. *Sergeant*, 312–320.
   f. Presidency of Capodistrias. *Fyffe*, II, 345–348; disputes over the new boundaries; civil war. *Fyffe*, II, 353.
   g. Crete given back to Turkey, by England's influence.
4. Greece a kingdom, 1830. *Lodge*, 657.
   a. King Otho, 1833–63.

"A frontier somewhat better than that which had been offered to Leopold was granted to the new sovereign, but neither Crete, Thessaly, nor Epirus was included within his kingdom. Thus hemmed in within intolerably narrow limits, while burdened with the expenses of an independent state, alike unable to meet the calls upon its national exchequer, and to exclude the intrigues of foreign courts, Greece offered during the next generation little that justified the hopes that had been raised as to its future.

"Poor and inglorious as the Greek kingdom was, it excited the restless longings not only of Greeks under Turkish bondage, but of the prosperous Ionian Islands under English rule; and, in 1864, the first step in the expansion of the Hellenic kingdom was accomplished by the transfer of these islands from Great Britain to Greece. Our own day has seen Greece further strengthened and enriched by the annexation of Thessaly. The commercial and educational development of the kingdom is now as vigorous as that of any state in Europe; in agriculture and in manufacturing industry it still lingers far behind." *Fyffe*, 354, 355.

b. Representative constitution, 1843.

c. Agitation for extending the northern boundary.

"Greece was very much dissatisfied with the Peace of Paris, which guaranteed the Turkish boundaries. Henceforward King Otho had a difficult position. The nation could not forgive him for having shown no enterprise or military ambition during the Crimean war; and from that time on he was regarded as wholly unfit to carry out the 'great idea' of a great Greece and transfer his residence to Constantinople.

"The Hellenes asked themselves whether that which the Italians had striven after with almost complete success was to be forbidden them; whether they did not have the same right to give ear to their Grecian brothers who were sighing under the yoke of a barbarian people, and unite into one state all the Grecian provinces of the Olympian peninsula." *Muller*, 266.

5. Revolution and expulsion of Otho, 1862. George of Denmark chosen King, 1863. Cession of Ionian Ilands by England. *Sergeant*, 397, 398.

a. Insurrection of Crete in favor of union with Greece, 1866–68; Greater Greece; interference of the Powers; England, chiefly through fear of Russia, aids Turkey to retain Crete.

6. Position and claims of Greece in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. Restraint by England; unfulfilled promises of England. *Sergeant*, 402–413. *Müller*, 554.

a. Greece, by threat of war, obtains Thessaly, 1881.

7. Government, hereditary constitutional monarchy. Single chamber. Election of members of the House by *Scrutin de liste*. *Sergeant*, ch. iv.

a. Political parties and tendencies. Tricoupis and party of peace and domestic reforms. The desire for expansion, and a vigorous foreign policy.

b. Brigandage suppressed. *Sergeant*, 116–126.

c. Greek influence in commerce. *Sergeant*, ch. vii.

E. Servia.

Area, 18,750 sq. mi.; popul., nearly 2 m.

History.

1. Subject to Turks, 1389–1806. Gains some powers of local

government, with aid of Russia, 1807–11. Successful resistance to Turkey, 1815–29, under Alexander Milos Obrenovitch, whom Turkey recognizes as hereditary prince. Annual tribute to be paid.

2. Russian intrigues to prevent growth of national Servian feeling. Civil wars, 1839–60.

3. Agitation for complete independence, 1860–68. Withdrawal of Turkish garrisons, 1867. Accession of Milan, 1868. Liberal constitution, 1869. Free press and a re-organized army. Opposition of Russia.

4. Servians and Montenegrins, acting under Russian influence, begin war against Turkey, 1877. Independence of Servia confirmed by treaty of Berlin, 1878. Proclaimed a kingdom (Milan I), 1882.

5. Unsuccessful war against Bulgaria, 1885, caused by Russian intrigues and by envy of Bulgaria's advancement. Servia saved by Austria.

6. Government, hereditary constitutional monarchy.
   - *a.* Senate, or Council of State.
   - *b.* The Skuptschina (Parliament), one chamber.
   - *c.* The Great Skuptschina.
   - *d.* Communal institutions. *Statesman's Year Book*, 1888, 454. *Laveleye*, 182–189.

7. Political parties and tendencies.
   - *a.* Conservatives, pro-Russian, Ristics.
   - *b.* Progressist, pro-Austrian, Garashanine.
   - *c.* Radicals, supposed to be pro-Russian. *Laveleye*, 194–198.
   - *d.* New Constitution. Radical triumph, 1888. *London* (Weekly) *Times*, Jan. 4, 1889, p. 16.

F. Bulgaria (including Eastern Roumelia).

Area, 37,860 sq. mi.; popul., about 3 m.

History.

1. Under Turkish dominion, 1392–1878.

"The Bulgarians, of Turanian race, came across the Danube from the banks of the Volga in the fifth century. They settled in the eastern side of the peninsula and intermingled with the Slavs, whose language and customs they adopted. . . . . During the ninth and tenth centuries, the Bulgarians struggled victoriously with the Magyars in the North, and the Greeks in the south. They were then at the height of their power. . . . . For two centuries, 1018 to 1196, Bulgaria was only a Byzantine province, but Kaloyan restored the Bulgarian Empire and decided the defeat, near Adrianople, of the army of the Crusaders commanded by Baldwin. Joanice-Asen II (1218-1241), reigned over almost the whole peninsula, compelled the Patriarch to recognize the autonomy of the Greek Bulgarian Church, and besieged Constantinople, which was saved by the Italians in 1236.

"The Tatars arrived soon afterwards and ravaged the whole country horribly; then came the Turks, who crossed the Bosphorus and invaded the peninsula. If Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians could have united, they might, perhaps, have driven them back into Asia; but they continued to make war with each other to the end,

"The Servians, under their great Emperor, Dushan, joined with the Bulgarians, threatened Constantinople and seemed on the eve of constituting a powerful state, 1356; but for want of an administrative organization, nothing lasting could be established. The Servians were defeated in the decisive battle of Kossovo in 1389, and Tirnova, the Bulgarian capital, was taken by Tchelebi, son of Bajazet, in 1393. The Turkish domination began, and the Bulgarian church, losing its autonomy, fell again under the authority of the Greek patriarch. The Bulgarian nationality had apparently ceased to exist." *Laveleye: The Balkan Peninsula*, 245, 246.

2. Subjection of Bulgarian Christians to Greek Church. Acquisition of ecclesiastical autonomy, 1869–70. *Laveleye*, 249–252.

3. Insurrection against Turkey, 1876. Cruelty of Turks. See A, § 9, *ante*. How the promises of Turkish Government to Christian nations were performed. (See A, 1, *d*, and A, 3, *b*, *ante*.)

"The hatti-sheriff of Gulhani, sent by the Porte to satisfy the demands of the Christian Powers, far from affording any relief to the rayas, only made their fate more terrible. 'The only change which resulted,' said Blanqui, 'merely concerned the finances, and was directed with the greatest harshness against the Christians. . . . . The various taxes imposed on the rayas were *added together*, and represented by a sum which included them all, but did not increase them; but the unfortunate Christians, however, instead of paying once, were compelled to pay them two or three times. The collectors pretended that they had not received the taxes which the people asserted they had really paid. As they, for the most part, could neither read nor write, they were deceived with receipts which gave smaller sums or fixed earlier dates. Most frequently they had no written receipts, but notches were cut in little bits of wood, always lost or out of the way when they might be useful to a rate-payer; always at hand when they bore witness against him. After all, it was still the old system of extortion and violence, with hypocrisy added, and a deceptive appearance of legality. That is what the Turkish mind had made of the hatti-sheriff, an atrocious deception. . . . . Now, in Turkey, those who are behindhand with their taxes have soldiers sent to live in their homes. These soldiers install themselves in the rate-payer's house day and night, rummage everywhere, use everything as if it was their personal property, and leave the inhabitants no peace. . . . . Europe does not sufficiently understand that at the present time there is not a single Christian woman whose honor is not at the mercy of the first Mussulman whom she has the misfortune to please! Europe does not know that the Turks enter a Christian's house whenever they like and take whatever pleases them; that a complaint is more dangerous than resistance; and that the simplest quarters given to the lowest men in the most benighted countries would be immense favors to the inhabitants of Bulgaria." *Laveleye*, 294–296.

4. Great Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano. *Müller*, 546.

5. Congress of Berlin (1878) recognizes Bulgaria as self-governing "principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan." Annual tribute (on paper). People to ordain Constitution and elect a Prince.

a. No Prince of European reigning house eligible.

b. East Roumelia, with an autonomous administration and a Christian Governor-General, left under the control of the Sultan. *Müller*, 551, 552.

6. 1879, Constituent Assembly of Bulgaria, under Russian auspices.

a. Liberal constitution. Single legislative chamber, the Sobranje.

b. Alexander of Battenberg chosen Prince. *Laveleye*, 253.

c. Separate organization of East Roumelia by Turkish Government, under foreign pressure. *Müller*, 557, 558.

d. Radical or anti-Russian sentiment in the Sobranje. Russian intrigues to keep Bulgaria weak. Tyranny of Russian envoys. *Laveleye*, 255, 256. *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov., 1886, pp. 609–615. Suspension of the Constitution, 1881–83. *Laveleye*, 254.

e. Prince Alexander and the National Bulgarian party. Hostility of Russia. *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct., 1886, pp. 501–508.

7. Revolution in East Roumelia, Sept. 17, 1885. Union with Bulgaria under Alexander proclaimed.

8. Defensive and successful war against Servia, 1885. Russian intrigues.

9. Aug. 20, 1886, Russian Plot. Prince Alexander abducted. His return and resignation, Sept. 7. *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct., 1886, pp. 583–591.

a. Provisional Regency.

b. Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople, 1887.

c. Russian candidate, Nicholas of Mingrelia.

d. Sobranje elects Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, July 7, 1887, who accepts. *Fortnightly Rev.*, July, 1888, pp. 39–56.

e. Attitude of the Powers towards Bulgaria.

10. Government. Form of a constitutional monarchy. Princely title hereditary. Responsible ministry. National Assembly (Sobranje) "elected by universal manhood suffrage at the rating of one member to every 10,000 of the population, 'counting both sexes.'" *Statesman's Year Book*, 539.

11. Political Parties.

a. Governmental, anti-Russian, Stambouloff.

b. Opposition, pro-Russian, Zankoff.

c. Strength of Nationality. *Fortnightly Rev.*, July, 1888, pp. 53–56.

d. Influence of Robert College.

12. Railway Connections. *Baron Hirsch's Railway, Fortnightly Rev.*, Aug., 1888, pp. 229–239.

LECTURE XIV.

THE PRESENT EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS. THE EASTERN QUESTION.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES: *J. M. Bugbee: The Eastern Question Historically Considered. Fortnightly Rev.*, vol. 40 (1886), 563–547. *Sir R. Roberts: Asia Minor and the Caucasus. W. G. Palgrave: Central and Eastern Arabia.*

1. Government and Administration.

Area (including nominally dependent States of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina), in Europe, Asia and Africa, $1\frac{1}{4}$ sq. mi.; popul., over 33 m.

a. Fundamental laws based on the Koran, the Multeka, supposed sayings of Mohammed and his immediate successors, and the "Canon Nameh," edicts of the Sultans.

b. Authority; Sultan's will absolute; Head of State and Church alike; in latter capacity claims to be the Caliph (*i. e.*, successor of Mahomet) of the Mohammedan world; dignity acquired from last Egyptian Caliph, 1517. Succession usually to the oldest male relative of the last Sultan. The Harem, a State institution. 5,000 individuals constitute Court and Harem, absorbing all revenues of the State.

c. Grand Vizier appointed by Sultan at head of administration, President of Divan, or Imperial Council of Ministers.

d. Country divided into vilayets (vali, or Governor-General, with Council), provinces, districts, and municipalities. Entire civil service dependent on central power. "Birth confers no privilege, as all true believers are equal in the eye of the law." *Statesman's Year Book*, 524.

e. Sheik-ul-Islam (Elder of Islam), appointed by Sultan, at head of religious administration; chief of the Ulemas, interpreters of law and Koran. Religious administration includes:

(1) Ulemas proper, chief religious and legal functionaries.
(2) Mollahs and Kadis (judges and magistrates).
(3) Muftis, theologians and expounders of the Koran.
(4) Imams, ministers of worship.
(5) Softas, theological students.
(6) Hadjis and Dervishes.

2. Religion and education. Under actual Turkish rule, in Europe and Asia together, Mohammedans, 16 m.; Christians, over 5 m. Annual pilgrimages to Mecca, 120,610 in 1883. Education in control of Muftis. Foreign Missions and Schools. Robert College. American Missionary schools.

3. Finance and taxation. Country bankrupt since 1875. Excise taxes in hands of a commission of creditors since 1881; other revenues mortgaged. National debt, permanent deficit. English loans. *Vakoufs*, church lands. *Laveleye*, 317–321. Different forms of land tenure. *Statesman's Year Book*, 534, 535.

4. Local government under Turkish Empire.

a. Egypt. Khedivate hereditary in family of Mehemet Ali since 1841, on condition of annual tribute. Tewfik Pasha, Khedive, 1879. Rebellion of Arabi Pasha, 1882, to drive out foreigners, and establish National Assembly.

Withdrawal of France. England occupies the country. Constitution of 1883. Mixed courts. *Government Year Book*, 1888, pp. 588–592. The Mahdi and Gordon in the Soudan, 1883–84. Abolition of forced peasant labor, 1887. *Our Task in Egypt; Fortnightly Review*, Nov., 1888, p. 629. *Egypt and the English Occupation; Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome 90, pp. 654, 890.

b. Samos. Limited local control since 1832. Prince (a Greek) appointed by Sultan, and Council of four Greeks.

c. Christians of Mt. Lebanon, in Syria, under a Governor of their own faith since 1864.

d. Crete has a National Assembly in which both Christians and Mohammedans are represented.

A. The Eastern Question.

The disposal of the territories of the important Mohammedan states.

1. The question of Turkey in Europe.

a. The Race Question. Macedonia. *Laveleye*, ch. x.

b. Claims of Greece. *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 40 (1886), pp. 404–413.

c. Aspirations of Russia.

d. Interests of Austro-Hungary.

e. Ecclesiastical influences.

f. A Balkan Confederation. *Laveleye*, 330–335.

g. The interests of England.

2. The Asiatic question.

a. Russia's advance upon Asia Minor. (See Lecture VII, B.) Objective points, the Persian Gulf and the Bosphorus. Fate of Persia. The advance through Circassia, 1799–1878. The advance through Turkestan, or Central Asia, 1846, 1860–84 (Merv and Bokhara) –1887 (Afghan frontier).

b. Claims of Greeks and Armenians. *Laveleye*, 321–323.

c. The mountaineers of Asia Minor.

d. The English in Cyprus. *Müller*, 552. *Hazell*, 1888. *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 40, 1886, pp. 372–387.

e. Interests of European governments (France, Russia) in Palestine. *Fortnightly Review*, 1882, p. 427; 1883, p. 227.

f. Independent Arabia. Beni Shammar, Nejd, Oman. *Palgrave*, ch. viii. *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 33, 1880, p. 141; Feb., 1884, p. 191.

g. Religious sympathies of Arabs. The Shereef of Mecca. *Stanford's Compendium. Keane: Asia*, 135, 136.

h. The English at Aden; occupied in 1838. *Keane*, 138–140.

i. Trade routes. *Keane*, 140–142.

3. The Turkish question in Africa.

a. Algiers nominally subject, 1516; conquered by France, 1830.

b. Egypt virtually independent of Turkey since 1841; political importance of Suez canal; the Red Sea route.

c. Tunis, nominally subject, 1531; conquered by France, 1881–82. Kairwan.

d. Tripoli, and the hopes of Italy.

e. Feeling of Arabs and African Mohammedans towards the Ottoman Turk. Soudanese sects and fraternities. Doctrine of a Mahdi.

f. Mohammedan Missions in Africa. *E. W. Blyden: Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race* (2d ed.), 199, 277, 350. *Canon Taylor: The Great Missionary Failure, Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1888.

g. Arabians and the slave trade in the Soudan. The English at Suakim. (Lecture XXIV.)

4. The future of Islam and the Caliphate. *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 36, 1881, pp. 204, 315, 441, 585; vol. 37, 1882, p. 32. See also *Blyden.*

LECTURE XV.

GERMAN CONFEDERATIONS AND THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA.

REFERENCES: *S. Baring-Gould: Germany, Present and Past. S. Baring-Gould: Germany. James Sime: History of Germany* (*Freeman's Historical Course*). *Moritz Busch; Our Chancellor. J. R. Seeley: Life and Times of Stein* (Tauchnitz ed.). *M. Grant Duff: Studies in European Politics*, chs. iv, v. *Sidney Whitman: Imperial Germany.*

In 1806, the German empire came to an end; Francis II, Emperor of Germany, forced by Napoleon, resigned and retired to govern his own inheritance, Austria, under the title of Emperor of Austria. New confederation formed. *Lodge*, 592. *Sime: History of Germany*, 202.

I. 1806–15, Confederation of the Rhine, composed of 16 states which were induced to unite by Napoleon under promise of cessions of conquered territory from the rest of Germany. *Lodge*, 592–595. The mediatized Princes. *Fyffe*, I, 295.

II. 1815–66. The Germanic Confederation, 39 states, under the hegemony of Austria. See *Notes on Austro-Hungary*, *Lodge*, 637, 669, 687. *Müller*, 7–9. *Sime: Germany*, 209. *Gould: Germany*, p. 166. Stipulations of the Federal Act. *Grant Duff*, 258, 259.

1. Influence of French Revolutionary Epoch upon Prussia, especially after the defeat by Napoleon, 1806–7.

a. The Ministers, Stein, and Hardenberg. *McCarthy*, II, 348.

b. Reforms introduced about 1810. *Lodge*, 605–608. Former social system. *Fyffe*, I, 33, 34.

(1) Abolition of serfdom and prerogatives of feudal nobility. *Lodge. Seeley*, II, 18–31.

(2) Abolition of trade guilds.

(3) Abolition of all restrictions to the right of property in land.

(4) More equal distribution of taxes.

(5) Compulsory education. *Mc Carthy*, II, 481.

(6) Introduction of the Landwehr system.

2. Increase of Prussian territory at Congress of Vienna, 1815. *Ploetz*, 482, 483. Character of King Frederic William III, 1797–1840. *Müller*, 10. Relative positions of Austria and Prussia; question of Alsace-Lorraine. *Fyffe*, II, 60–74.

a. The Burschenschaft, or student fraternity; murder of Kotzebue and its suppression. *Lodge*, 638. *Müller*, 13–17. *Fyffe*, II, 127–129, 139–142.

b. In 1815, the King promised the people a constitution; opposition of Metternich and reactionary party, so that it was never fulfilled. *Lodge*, 630–637. *Müller*, 3–5, 9. *Fyffe*, II, 121–125. *Sime*, 224.

c. Period of depression.

d. The Zollverein, 1828–36. Industrial and commercial union of Central and South German States, under leadership and protection of Prussia. *Müller*, 164, 165; 318, 319. *Fyffe*, II, 406.

"The idea of a uniform system of customs for the German States, first suggested at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, was acted upon by the government of Prussia, which abolished all distinctions of customs throughout its territories, May 26, 1818, and invited other governments to unite for a similar purpose. The invitation was generally accepted, and the result was the formation of the Zollverein, by which internal trade was free from all restrictions, and a uniform system of duties agreed on for those states that joined it." *Ewald*, 84.

3. 1837, dissolution of union between England and Hanover, (1714–1837); accession of reactionary King Ernest; relations with Prussia and South German States. *Müller*, 162, 163.

4. Frederic William IV, 1840–57, imbecile; 1857, gave way to a Regency; died, 1861. Character. *Grant Duff*, 202–206. Hopes of reform; disappointment. *Lodge*, 688. *Müller*, 165–168. *Fyffe*, II, 496–498.

a. "Royal Patent" of 1847.

(1) Landtag or Central Diet assembled at Berlin. *Lodge*, 688–690. *Müller*, 168. *Fyffe*, II, 498, 502. *Sime*, 233.

"Prussia herself had no parliament of the whole monarchy until 1847; up to that year there had been only local 'Landes Stände,' estates or diets for the several provinces. The liberal party had two objects to struggle for,— the establishment or extension of free institutions in the several states, and the attainment of national unity. . . . Now, in Ger-

many, such liberties had not been known since primitive times ; and there were few serious practical grievances to be complained of. From the time of Frederick the Great the country had been well and honestly administered ; conscience was free, trade and industry were growing, taxation was not heavy, the press censorship did not annoy the ordinary citizen, and the other restraints upon personal freedom were only those to which the subjects of all the Continental monarchies had been accustomed. The habit of submission was strong ; and there existed in most places a good deal of loyalty, irrational perhaps, but not therefore the less powerful, towards the long-descended reigning houses. It was therefore hard for the liberals to excite their countrymen to any energetic and concerted action ; and when the governments thought fit to repress their attempts at agitation, this could be harshly done with little fear of the consequences.

"It was therefore only through the carefully-guarded press, and occasionally in social or literary gatherings, that appeals to the nation could be made, or the semblance of an agitation kept up. There was no point to start from ; and it was all aspiration and nothing more ; and so this movement, to which so many of the noblest hearts and intellects of Germany devoted themselves (though the two greatest stood aloof), made during many years little apparent progress." *James Bryce: Holy Roman Empire*, 415–417.

b. Development of political parties.

(1) Liberals ; free institutions ; peaceful foreign policy. "Prussia Germanized, and not Germany Prussianized."

(2) Conservative ; extreme wing known as "Old Prussian Party"; warlike and ambitious.

(3) Junkers. *Müller*, 306. *Grant Duff*, 214–216, 243–245.

c. Bismarck. *Lodge*, 708, 727–730, 737, 751. *Müller*, 306–332, 445–448, 460, 466, 550, 568, 632–639, 645–651. *McCarthy*, II, 246, 504, 508, 509, 606. *Sime*, 245. For a sketch of Bismarck in his private life,—*Busch: Our Chancellor*, II, ch. 7. *Grant Duff*, 233–235.

"Distinguished for the acuteness of his political diagnosis, of unbending will, an ardent enthusiast for Prussian and German greatness, at the age of forty-seven he already had a checkered career behind him. In the United Landtag of 1847, he was the leader of the extreme right, and distinguished himself by his determined opposition to a national assembly and a constitution. He accepted for his party the nickname 'Junker,' and replied to his opponents : 'Be assured that we for our part will bring the name of Junker to respect and honor.' As delegate to the Diet of Frankfurt, in 1851, he had an opportunity to observe Austria's influence over the second-rate and lesser German states, and to appreciate thoroughly Prussia's false position. Hitherto, in Junker fashion, he had overflowed with praise of Austria, but now 'there fell from his eyes as it had been scales,' as he himself said, and from that time he stood forward as her open and secret adversary. That he might not be compromised by Bismarck's sympathy for the cause of Italy, the King transferred him to St. Petersburg, as ambassador, in 1859. In 1862 he became ambassador at Paris, and had a chance to study his future rival, Napoleon. His words in the Budget committee attracted universal attention : 'Prussia must collect its strength for the favorable moment, which has already been several times allowed to pass. Prussia's borders are not adapted to sound health in the political body. It is not by speeches and resolutions of majorities that the great questions of the times are to be decided, — that was the mistake of 1840 and 1845,— but by blood and iron." *Muller*, 306, 307.

d. Prussia joins in European Revolution of 1848. Overthrow of the Metternich system. Frederic William IV goes with the tide. "Henceforward Prussia takes the lead in Germany." *Müller*, 226–228.

e. Constitution of 1849–50. "By this step Prussia entered the ranks of modern constitutional States." *Müller*, 228–230.

f. Desire of Diet of Germanic Confederation (28 States) to revive German Empire under Prussian King. Fierce opposition of Austria and South German States. Frederic William IV refuses imperial crown, 1849; desires no "crown that will horribly pollute the bearer with carrion smell of revolution of 1848." *Müller*, 230–232.

g. Schleswig-Holstein, and the desire of the German Liberals for national unity. Prussia outwitted and brow-beaten by Austria, Russia, and England. *Müller*, 213, 218, 219, 245–253.

5. William I, Regent, 1857–61; King, 1861–88; Emperor of Germany, 1871–88. Accession. *Müller*, 273. Military reforms. *Müller*, 304, 305. Promotion of Otto Von Bismarck-Schoenhausen; definite and vigorous policy. *Grant Duff*, 233, 234. *Whitman*, 116–125. *Sime*, 245.

a. Prussia's commanding attitude in Germany in 1859. *Sime*, 244. *Müller*, 283–286.

b. Austria repelled in attempts to enter and control the Zollverein, 1853, 1864. *Müller*, 272, 318, 319. *Busch*, 291–293.

c. Revival of Liberal-Democratic party of 1848 in Prussia and Germany (Fortschritts Partei), 1859–62. *Grant Duff*, 228–233.

d. Lassalle and the Social-Democratic party. *Baring-Gould, History of Germany*, 410–414, 430–437. *Laveleye: Socialism of Today*, ch. v.

e. Constitutional conflict between the Ministry (Bismarck) and the Lower House of the Prussian Landtag, 1862–66. *Müller*, 307.

f. The Schleswig-Holstein difficulty, 1863–65. *Sime*, 246–249. *Müller*, 309–325. Prussia and Austria drive the Danes from the Duchies, 1864.

g. Difficulty results in Prusso-Austrian War of 1866. Causes:

(1) Rivalry for possession of duchies of Schleswig-Holstein.

(2) Ambition of each state to be supreme in Germany. Austria to keep the supremacy, Prussia to win it.

(3) Success of Prussia with the Zollverein.

(4) Opposition of two systems of Government. Prussia, more Liberal; Austria, the Metternich system. South

German States, together with Hanover, Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau, side with Austria; the remainder with Prussia; Italy also the ally of Prussia. Sadowa (Koeniggratz), July 3, 1866; destruction of the Austrian power. *Müller*, 326–366.

h. Peace of Prague, Aug. 23, 1866. Austria excluded from Germany. End of Germanic Confederation declared, Aug. 24, 1866. South German States recognize hegemony of Prussia. *Sime*, 255. *Baring-Gould*, 167.

i. Annexation to Russia of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt. *Lodge*, 726–730. *Müller*, 367. *McCarthy*, II, 244–247. *Sime*, 255.

III. 1866–71, North German Confederation. *Lodge*, 730, 731. *Müller*, 368. 22 states in this alliance; Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, states south of the Main, were excluded, but were bound by secret treaties to Prussia, and in 1867 joined the Zollverein.

1. The constitution of the Confederation.

a. Military forces were consolidated under the leadership of Prussia.

b. King of Prussia as President of the Confederation was vested with the control of foreign affairs, and also with the right of declaring war and peace with the consent of the federal Parliament.

c. All legislation for revenue for federal objects transferred to the control of the Parliament.

d. Parliament consisted of —

(1) Bundesrath or council of 43 members, of which Prussia was entitled to 17; this represented the government. *Müller*, 379, 383.

(2) Reichstag, or popular branch, elected by manhood suffrage. *Müller*, 378–383, 368, 381.

2. The Luxemburg Question, 1867. *Müller*, 370, 371.

3. Strength of desire for German unity among the South German States, 1866–70. Particularism in Ultramontane Bavaria and Hesse, and in democratic Würtemberg. National feeling in Baden. *Müller*, 376–388.

4. War of Prussia with France, 1870. Uprising of the South Germans; demand for German unity. *McCarthy*, II, 503–505. *Lodge*, 734–737. *Müller*, 409–460. *Sime*, 256–264.

5. The Culturkampf, 1871. Its beginnings. *Müller*, 165, 166, 272. The May Laws, 1873–74.

a. Church officers cannot inflict social or civil penalties.

b. Priests must have a secular as well as clerical education.

c. Performance of ecclesiastical duties must be authorized by the State.

d. 1874, compulsory civil marriage and registration laws. *Müller*, 499–503, 631–636. *Gould*, ch. x.

6. Government, hereditary monarchy; since 1850, constitutional.

a. Ministry appointed by King.

b. Legislature, the Landtag, two chambers. Herrenhaus, composed of —

(1) Hohenzollern princes.

(2) Heads of 16 princely houses (mediatized).

(3) Heads of territorial nobility (about 50).

(4) Life-peers.

(5) 8 Noblemen elected in the 8 provinces to represent land-owners.

(6) Representatives of universities; burgomasters of large cities.

(7) Unlimited number of members nominated by King. Abgeordnetenhaus,— 432 members,— chosen by electors who represent the great body of voters in ratio of 1 to 250.

7. Education, universal and compulsory.

8. Military organization. *Statesman's Year Book*, 108.

9. Character of the Hohenzollerns. Importance in Prussian history. Eulogistic view in *Whitman*, ch. iv.

a. Bismarck and the Emperor Frederic III. *Diary of the Emperor Frederic; Pall Mall Budget*, Oct. 4, 1888, pp. 24–31. The Morier Incident. *N. Y. Nation*, Jan. 10, 1889, p. 25.

LECTURE XVI.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1871–.

Area, 211,196 sq. mi.; equal to Colorado and Nevada joined; popul. (1885), 47 m. Area of foreign colonial dependencies, 591,000 sq. mi. Population, about 687,000.

1. Irresistible current of public opinion in South Germany in 1871, in favor of unity with North German Confederation. Influence of war with France. Initiative of Baden, and King Louis of Bavaria. *Müller*, 460–468. Proclamation of the King of Prussia as Emperor, and of the new Empire, made at Versailles, Jan. 1 and 18, 1871.

2. Constitution of the German Empire, April 16, 1871. By the terms of the constitution, the states of Germany formed an eternal union under the supreme direction in political and military affairs of the King of Prussia, who, as such, bears the title of "Deutscher Kaiser." *Lodge*, 737. *Müller*, 463–467. *Sime*, 267. *Baring-Gould: Germany*, 168–170.

a. The Emperor (Kaiser) represents the nation internationally.

(1) Can declare defensive war.

(2) Can make peace and treaties.

(3) To declare offensive war, the Kaiser must have consent of the Federal Council. *Statesman's Year Book*, 101. *Lodge*, 737. *Müller*, 463–467.

b. The Bundesrath, or Federal Council; 62 members.

(1) Represents the governments, and appointed by them.

(2) Proposes legislation.

(3) Controlled by Prussia.

(4) Supreme administrative and consultative Board for the Empire. *Müller*, 382, 383; 463 (note). *Baring-Gould*, 170–172.

States of the Empire.	Number of Members in Bundesrath.	Number of Deputies in Reichstag.
Kingdom of Prussia	17	236
" " Bavaria	6	48
" " Würtemberg	4	17
" " Saxony	4	23
Grand Duchy of Baden	3	14
" " " Mechlenburg-Schwerin	2	6
" " " Hesse	3	9
" " " Oldenburg	1	3
" " " Saxe-Weimar	1	3
" " " Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1	1
Duchy of Brunswick	2	3
" " Saxe-Meiningen	1	2
" " Anhalt	1	2
" " Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1	2
" " Saxe-Altenburg	1	1
Principality of Waldeck	1	1
" " Lippe	1	1
" " Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	1	1
" " Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	1	1
" " Reuss-Schleiz	1	1
" " Schaumburg-Lippe	1	1
" " Reuss Greiz	1	1
Free town of Hamburg	1	3
" " " Lübeck	1	1
" " " Bremen	1	1
Reichsland of Elsass-Lothringen	4	15
Total	62	397

Baring-Gould, 176–178.

c. The Reichstag, or Diet; 397 members, elected by universal suffrage (ballot) for term of three years. Annual sessions. Emperor can prorogue or dissolve. Confirms, amends, or rejects proposals of Bundesrath. Can draft bills and send them to Bundesrath. Without its consent the State can contract no loan. *Müller*, 463 (note). *Baring-Gould*, 172, 173.

d. Imperial Chancery (Ministry), under control of Imperial Chancellor (Reichskanzler). Ten different departments. "There is no provision in the laws of the Empire for bringing the Chancellor to account." *Baring-Gould*, 173, 174.

e. Strongly centralized nature of Government. The Hohenzollern prerogatives. Restrictions upon the Press. Characters of the three Emperors of 1888, William I, Frederic III, and William II. *Busch*, II, ch. iv. *Müller*, 646. *Whitman*, chs. v and xiii.

"In the royal rescript of January 4, 1882, the emperor, speaking in his character as king of Prussia, says: 'The government acts of the king require the countersignature of a minister, and, as was also the case before the constitution was issued, have to be represented by the king's ministers, but they nevertheless remain government acts of the king, from whose decisions they result, and who thereby constitutionally expresses his will and pleasure. It is, therefore, my will that both in Prussia and in the legislative bodies of the empire there may be no doubt left as to my own constitutional right, and that of my successors, to personally conduct the policy of my government, and that the theory shall always be gainsaid that the inviolability of the king, which has always existed in Prussia, and is enunciated by article 43 of the constitution, or the necessity of a responsible countersignature of my government acts, deprives them of the character of royal and independent decisions.'" *Muller*, 646.

3. Local Governments of Germany.

a. Three Free Towns — republican.

b. All other States hereditary and constitutional monarchies, except Mecklenburg-Schwerin, which has yet a feudal constitution.

c. Elsass-Lothringen. Statthalter (Gov.-Gen.) appointed by Emperor, with Council.

(1) Feeling in Elsass-Lothringen. *Müller*, 497, 498.

4. Education. *Baring-Gould*, 185–187. *Whitman*, ch. iii. *Gould: History of Germany*, ch. vii.

5. The Army. *Baring-Gould*, 181–183. *Whitman*, ch. vii. *Gould*, ch. viii.

6. Social Structure. *Baring-Gould*, ch. viii. *Gould*, ch. xiv. *Whitman*, chs. viii and ix.

7. The Culturkampf in Germany. *Gould*, ch. x. *Müller*, 499–504, 630–636.

8. Financial Policy. Demonetization of silver, 1873. Adoption of Protective Tariff, 1879. *Müller*, 643, 644. State authorized to purchase railways, 1879. *Müller*, 643. Tobacco monopoly; laborer's insurance.

9. Anti-Semitic agitation, 1879. Opposed by Frederic III, 1888. *Müller*, 648, 649.

10. The Alliance of Central Europe, 1879.

a. Its composition.

b. Its motives: to push Austro-Hungary eastward, to check Russia and France, to strengthen Italy, to preserve peace. *Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1887, p. 1.

11. The Septennate discussion, 1887. Papal action.

12. Social Democracy in Germany. *Busch*, II, ch. v. *Gould*, 430–437.

a. Programme of the party (1876). *Müller*, 637.

b. Attempts on Emperor's life (1878). *Müller*, 637, 638.

c. Anti-Socialist legislation. *Müller*, 638–640.

d. Growth of the party.

12. Political parties and tendencies.

a. Account of. *Müller*, 495–498, 632, 633, 641, 645, 648.

b. Divisions in the Reichstag elected Feb., 1887:

(1) Center (Ultramontane), 101.

(2) Elsassers, 15.

(3) Poles, 12.

(4) German Conservatives, 78.

(5) Imperialists (Reichspartei), 42.

(6) National Liberals, 97.

(7) German Liberals, 32.

(8) Social Democrats, 11.

(9) Independents (anti-Semitic, Guelph, Dane, "Wilde"), 8.

13. German Colonization, 1884–.

a. The East African slave trade.

b. Samoa. *W. L. Rees:* "*German Conduct in Samoa,*" *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1888.

LECTURE XVII.

FRANCE, 1815-1870.

A. Royalty, 1814–48.
1815–30, Louis XVIII and Charles X.
1830–48, Louis Philippe.

B. Republic, 1848–52.

C. Empire, 1852–70.

D. Republic, 1870–.

References: *The Student's History of France. Lebon and Pelet: France as it is. E. Levasseur: La France avec ses Colonies. J. F. Elton: With the French in Mexico. J. G. Scott: France and Tongking. A. R. Colquhoun: The Truth about Tonquin.*

Area, 204,177 sq. mi., twice the size of Colorado. Population over 38 m. Area of colonial possessions, 953,062 sq. mi.; population about 26 m.

A. Royalty, 1814–1848.

1. Upon the restoration of the Bourbons. (*Fyffe*, II, 12–14. *Lodge*, 638–641. *Müller*, 90), a liberal constitution was granted, which provided for:

a. Limited monarchy. *Fyffe*, II, 15, 16.

b. Legislative power vested in two chambers; the Upper House, or Peers, named by the King, and the Lower House, or Chamber of Deputies, elected by the people. *Fyffe*, II, 14, 15.

King alone proposed laws, but Lower House controlled taxation.

c. Property qualification for suffrage.

d. Responsible ministers.

e. Freedom of the press, "within the limits necessary to public tranquillity."

f. Religious toleration.

g. Land titles not to be disturbed.

2. Reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X. *Müller*, 79–102. "Gravitation towards a monarchy resting on the middle classes (bourgeoisie)." *Fyffe*, II, 14–19, 31–77, 356–368. *Lodge*, 657–660.

a. Domination of clerical influence. Ultra Royalists.

b. Interference in Spain in behalf of Holy Alliance, and against constitutional rule in Spain, 1823.

c. Conquest of Algiers, 1830.

3. Revolution of July, 1830; "The Three Days." *Fyffe*, II, 368–381. *Lodge*, 660–662. *Müller*, 99–101.

a. Causes:

(1) Freedom of the press suppressed. *Fyffe*, II, 368.

(2) Representative government restricted; the number of electors limited by raising the suffrage qualification. *Fyffe*, II, 368.

(3) Control of the King by the "Congregation" (Jesuit and clerical party).

(4) Lafayette, Talleyrand, Thiers.

b. Results: Charles X abdicated; Duke of Orleans succeeded as Louis Philippe. *Müller*, 102–112.

"In comparison with the Revolution of 1789, the movement which overthrew the Bourbons in 1830 was a mere flutter on the surface. It was unconnected with any great change

in men's ideas, and it left no great social or legislative changes behind it. Occasioned by a breach of the constitution on the part of the Executive Government, it resulted mainly in the transfer of administrative power from one set of politicians to another: the alterations introduced into the constitution itself were of no great importance. France neither had an absolute Government before 1830, nor a popular Government afterwards. Instead of a representative of divine right, attended by guards of nobles and counseled by Jesuit confessors, there was now a citizen king, who walked about the streets of Paris with an umbrella under his arm and sent his sons to public schools, but who had at heart as keen a devotion to dynastic interests as either of his predecessors, and a much greater capacity for personal rule. The bonds which kept the entire local administration of France in dependence upon the central authority were not loosened; officialism remained as strong as ever; the franchise was still limited to a mere fraction of the nation." *Fyffe*, II, 379.

c. Constitution changed.

(1) Religious sects made equal in the eyes of the law.

(2) Censorship and all restrictions upon the press abolished.

(3) Power of the King to suspend laws taken away.

(4) The privilege of initiative in legislation extended to the Chamber of Deputies.

4. Parties during the reign of Louis Philippe.

a. Legitimists, desiring a king of the Bourbon family; their candidate was the grandson of Charles X, the Count of Chambord, also called Henry V. *Müller*, 173.

b. Orleanists; since the death of Louis Philippe, his grandson, the Comte de Paris, has represented the party. *Müller*, 197.

c. Bonapartists; in favor of the election of Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor.

d. Republicans; in favor of a republic.

5. Reign of Louis Philippe; causes leading to his overthrow. *Fyffe*, II, 414–418, 503. *Lodge*, 672–679, 682–686. *Müller*, 186–201.

a. The laws of September, 1835 (Thiers), to restrict the press, on account of several attacks made upon Louis Philippe; their unpopularity; rivalry of Thiers and Guizot. *Student's France*, 686, 688.

b. Plotting of Louis Napoleon; 1836, unsuccessful attempt to raise an insurrection among the troops at Strassburg; goes to America; 1841, again landed in France; declared himself emperor; captured and imprisoned for six years.

c. Failure of the government (Thiers), in its support of the ambition of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who attempted to make himself independent of Turkey, against the wishes of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, 1840.

"France proposed that all Syria and Egypt should be given in hereditary dominion to Mehemet Ali, with no further obligation towards the Porte than the payment of a yearly

tribute. The counter-proposal of England was that Mehemet, recognizing the Sultan's authority, should have the hereditary government of Egypt alone, that he should entirely withdraw from all Northern Syria, and hold Palestine only as an ordinary governor appointed by the Porte for his life-time. To this proposition all the Powers, with the exception of France, gave their assent." *Fyffe*, II, 457.

d. Charges of avarice on the part of the king; increased his wealth by business undertakings.

e. Charge that the government was not sincere in its promise to England with respect to the Spanish marriage; this weakened the English alliance. *Fyffe*, II, 504–506.

f. Foolish return of Napoleon's body to France, 1840.

g. Scarcity and want in 1847, which aroused the Socialistic classes; Louis Blanc; reform banquets, and attempt of the government (Guizot) to prevent them; riot; abdication of Louis Philippe. *Fyffe*, II, 506–513.

"On the one hand were the Legitimists, aiming at the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons; on the other hand there were the Republicans, who wished to be rid of monarchy altogether. The government of Louis Philippe satisfied neither. It served as a transition, or temporary halting-place, in the progress of France towards the goal of rational and stable republicanism, to which the great revolution tended. It was an 'attempt to put new wine into old bottles.' This inherent weakness of the Orleans rule it would have been difficult by any means to neutralize in such a way as to avert sooner or later a catastrophe. The unbending conservatism of Guizot — as seen in his refusal to extend suffrage — hastened this result. A government over which less than half a million of voters of the middle class alone had an influence could not stand against the republican feeling of the country. The middle class, on which the throne depended, became separated from the advanced party, to which the youth of France more and more rallied. Guizot was personally upright; but official corruption was suffered to spread in the last years of his administration, and bribery was used in the elections. These circumstances, added to the mortification of national pride from the little heed paid to France by the other powers, weakened the throne. The failure of the government to support the cause of liberty in Poland and Italy was another important source of its growing unpopularity." *Fisher: Outlines of Universal History*, 562.

B. The Second Republic, 1848–1852.

1. Dissensions between Moderates (Lamartine) and Socialists and Communists (Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc).

a. Constitution. Universal suffrage, single chamber, elected President.

2. Louis Napoleon chosen President; conflict of parties.

a. Monarchist.

b. Republican.

c. Bonapartist.

d. Socialist and Communist.

e. Power of the clerical party.

f. *Coup d'état* in 1851. The *Plébiscite*. *Lodge*, 709–715. *Student's France*, ch. xxxiii.

3. Successive changes in the constitution.
   a. Louis Napoleon's appeal to the people, Dec. 20, 1851. "The number of recorded votes was 7,439,216 to 646,757" in Napoleon's favor.

"In the Constitution thus granted to France the form of liberty was maintained, but its spirit was suppressed. It consisted of a Legislative Chamber, a Senate, and Council of State. The Legislative Chamber was to be elected every six years by universal suffrage, and the members of the Senate and the Council of State to be nominated for life. The President was elected for ten years." *Ewald*, 125.

   b. Jan. 15, 1852. "The French President promulgated a new constitution; the whole executive power to be vested in the President, who is to be advised by a state council, a senate of nobles, and a completely powerless legislative assembly, whose transactions at the demand of five members may be secret." *Ewald*, 125.
   c. Dec. 2, 1852, Louis Napoleon declared "Emperor of the French, by the Grace of God and the Will of the People."

C. Empire, 1852–1871.

1. Napoleon strengthened his position:
   a. By co-operation with England in the Crimean war.
   b. By assisting Sardinia in ridding Italy of Austrian influence and rule. Acquisition of Savoy and Nice.
   c. Appeared as protector of Papal interests. 1860, French garrison at Rome.
   d. General purposes of his foreign policy.
2. Power weakened.
   a. Dissatisfaction with his arbitrary rule.
   b. Growing importance and ambition of Prussia, especially after war with Austria, 1866; failure of France in attempting to secure more territory.
   c. Alienation of Italy, by sending French troops in 1867 to keep Garibaldi out of Rome. *Müller*, 400, 401.
   d. Interference and failure in Mexico, 1861–66. *Wells: Study of Mexico.*
3. War with Prussia, 1870–71. *Müller*, 409–460. *Lodge*, 734–736.
   a. Causes:

General Causes:

1. "The idea entertained by a great part of the French nation, and kept alive by historians, poets, and the daily press, of the re-conquest of the left bank of the Rhine.

2. "The French, not understanding the long struggle of the German nation for political unity, saw in the consummation of this union only a forcible aggrandizement of Prussia, and in the victory of the latter state over Austria an unpermissible encroachment upon their own military fame."

SPECIAL CAUSES:

1. "The internal troubles of the government of Napoleon III. Growth of Constitutional Party. New Constitution, 1870. Clerical control of Napoleon." *Muller*, 388–394.

2. "The rejection of the 'compensation' demanded, since 1866, from the cabinet of Berlin, for the growth of Prussia, in extent and population.

3. "News of the approaching introduction of an improved weapon for the North German infantry, which threatened to put in question the superiority of the French chassepot."

IMMEDIATE CAUSE:

"The election of a prince of Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain, which was represented in Paris as a Prussian intrigue, endangering the safety of France. The request made by the French ambassador Benedetti in Ems of King William I, in person, that he should forbid the Prince of Hohenzollern to accept the Spanish crown, was refused. After the voluntary withdrawal of the Prince, the French government looked to the King of Prussia for a distinct announcement 'that he would never again permit the candidacy of the Prince for the Spanish crown.' King William refused to discuss the matter, and referred Benedetti to the regular method of communication through the ministry at Berlin. This, and the telegraphic announcement of the proceeding, was represented by the Duke of Gramont as an insult to France." *Ploetz*, 513.

b. Results. *Müller*, 460.

(1) Capture of Napoleon. Fall of the Empire (Sedan), Aug. 31–Sept. 4, 1870. (Death of Louis Napoleon in England, Jan. 9, 1873.)

(*a*) Government of National Defence (Gambetta, Favre) proclaims the Third Republic. *Müller*, 439–443.

(2) Siege and capture of Paris, Jan., 1871. *Müller*, 457.

(3) General election of a National Assembly (Thiers) to meet at Bordeaux, Feb. 12, 1871. Peace, March 1 and 2, 1871. Terms:

(*a*) France ceded to German Empire Alsace and part of Lorraine (4700 sq. mi.; popul., 1.5 m.).

(*b*) Indemnity of $965 m. within three years; until then, Prussian occupation.

LECTURE XVIII.

D. THE THIRD REPUBLIC, 1870–.

1. Presidential administrations:

a. Thiers, 1871–73. *Müller*, 474, 475.

b. MacMahon, 1873–79. *Müller*, 475, 476.

c. Grévy, 1879–87. *Müller*, 620–629.

d. Sadi-Carnot, 1887.

2. Insurrection and overthrow of the Paris Commune, March 18 to May 28, 1871.

"Not until the Commune was suppressed could the French government provide for an orderly and systematic administration of the country. It had before it, at the outset, two aims,— to rid the land, as soon as possible, of the German troops, and to improve the army according to the Prussian pattern. As large sums of money were necessary for the attainment of both these aims, a great strain was put upon the taxable strength of the country. The result to be achieved by the increase of the army was not the strengthening of the defensive power of the country,— for a peaceful France had no assaults to fear,— but a war of revenge against Germany. The lost military glory must be restored, and the ceded provinces be regained, or compensation taken elsewhere." *Muller*, 471.

3. Strife of parties. Failure of attempt for Bourbon Restoration, 1873. *Müller*, 474, 475. Royalists help elect MacMahon President and establish a Republican Constitution, intending it to be temporary, *Müller*, 611–613.

4. Constitution of 1875. *Lebon*, 75–84. *Levasseur*, 835–839.

a. The Executive; President of the Republic.

(1) Elected by National Assembly, composed of Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

(2) Term of office is seven years; reëligible.

(3) Powers; among others, initiates legislation concurrently with the two chambers; *cannot* veto.

(4) Assisted by Ministers (11 in number), who form the cabinet; these responsible to the Chamber of Deputies.

b. The Legislature; Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

(1) Senate, 300 members.

"The election of Senators is by an indirect process. In the first instance, the communes or municipalities of France, large and small, elect by a majority of their members, each one delegate or more, according to population. The delegates, after a lapse of two months, meet together, along with the members of each departmental Council-General, and the deputies of the department, who are *ex-officio* senatorial electors, to choose the Senators. No other qualification is required for a Senator than to be a Frenchman, at least forty years of age, but by the act of 1884, all princes of deposed dynasties are precluded from sitting in the Upper House. Generals or admirals on active service are also debarred." *Statesman's Year Book*, 63.

(2) Chamber of Deputies.

"The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, under the '*scrutin de liste*,' adopted by the National Assembly, June 16, 1885. Each department forms a single circumscription or electoral district, and chooses deputies in the ratio of one deputy to 70,000 inhabitants, foreigners not included. The total number of deputies is 584,—568 for France, 6 for Algeria, 10 for the colonies. The Chamber of Deputies is elected for the term of four years. The President is bound to convoke them if demand is made by one half the number of members composing each chamber. The President can adjourn the chambers, but the adjournment cannot exceed the term of a month, nor occur more than twice in the same session. The Senate has, conjointly with the Chamber of Deputies, the right of initiating and framing laws." *Statesman's Year Book*, 63, 64.

5. Elections for Chambers, 1876. Monarchical Senate and Republican House.

a. Reactionary policy of MacMahon under Clerical and Royalist influence. Gambetta, Republican leader. *Müller*, 613–617. Appeal to people, Oct. 14, 1877.

"The bishops also took part in the campaign, and threw the whole weight of their position on the side of the government. A three days' supplication was decreed for the favorable issue of the elections, and papal absolution offered to all who rendered assistance to the marshal. The electoral proclamations of the Republicans were for the most part confiscated by the prefects of the departments in which they were issued. On the 12th of October, two days before the election, the President issued a second manifesto, in which the voters were appealed to in the following language: 'You will vote for the candidates whom I recommend to your free choice. Go to the polls without fear. Follow my summons. I myself am your security for the maintenance of peace and order.' The elections resulted in the return of about 320 Republicans and 210 Royalists, 112 of whom were Bonapartists." *Muller*, 616, 617.

6. Jan. 5, 1879, Republicans elect majority of the Senate. MacMahon resigns, Jan. 30. Grévy, President. Gambetta, Speaker of House.

a. Amnesty to Communards, Blanqui, Rochefort, and "*L'Intransigeant.*" *Müller*, 620, 623.

b. Removal of Legislature from Versailles to Paris.

c. The Culturkampf (Jules Ferry). Secularization of education. *Müller*, 621, 622, 625. *Lebon*, 142–145.

7. Effect on Bonapartist party of death of Prince Imperial, June 1, 1879. *Müller*, 629, 630.

8. Acquisition of Tunis, 1881–82. *Lebon*, 290–295.

a. Political motives of French colonial policy. *Müller*, 625–627.

9. *Scrutin de liste* vs. *scrutin d'arrondissement.* *Lebon*, 78. Death of Gambetta, Dec. 31, 1882.

10. Claims upon Madagascar, 1882–85. *Lebon*, 307–310. *D. Willoughby: French Aggression in Madagascar; Fortnightly Review*, March, 1887, p. 432.

11. The Tonquin War, 1882–84.

a. Early history of Anam and Tonquin. In 200, B.C., Chinese invaded Farther India, and conquered a large portion of it. For 1000 years Anam a part of Chinese empire. In 1418, a revolt occurred and the Chinese power overthrown. In 1674, the kingdom of Anam split into Anam and Tonquin, with the two capitals, Hue and Hanoi. Both countries soon admitted the supremacy of China.

b. French interference. Conflicts and rivalry of Tonquin and Anam. Emperor of Anam forced to flee to Siam, where he met a French bishop, through whom he made treaty

with Louis XVI of France, in 1787. France to reinstate the Emperor of Anam, and Anam to cede a small portion of territory to France. Reinstatement of Emperor. French revolution suspended operations, and not until 1858 did France again push her claims. In 1862 and 1867, cession of six provinces called Cochin China. In 1867, French protectorate of Cambodia. In 1874, French protectorate of whole Anamite Empire by treaty.

c. Fertility of Chinese province of Yunnan; reached only by Red river through Tonquin.

d. Tonquin war began in 1882. China re-asserted her old supremacy. The Black Flags. *Scott*, 12, 13, 26–37.

12. Government of French Colonies. *Lebon*, 276, 277, 311–316.

a. Relations with Siam and India. *Scott*, 308–314, 369–372.

13. Death of Count of Chambord, 1883. Fusion of Monarchists.

a. Expulsion of the Orleans and Bonapartist Princes, 1886. *Hazell*, 1887.

14. Administrative scandals, 1887. Resignation of Grévy. Election of Sadi-Carnot.

15. Boulanger and his followers, 1887.

a. Demand for "revenge."

b. Demand for revision of Constitution. *France and Boulangism; Westminster Review*, vol. 129, pp. 748–764. *Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1887, p. 360; July, 1888, p. 10; Feb., 1887, p. 161.

16. Administration of Government. *Levasseur*, 784–787, 825, 835–839. *Lebon*, ch. iii.

a. Finance and taxation. Nominal capital of National Debt, over five billions of dollars. *Lebon*, 248–262. *Levasseur*, 806–819.

17. The churches of France. *Levasseur*, 832–835. *Lebon*, ch. iv.

18. Political parties and their tendencies. *Lebon*, 84–95. *Nineteenth Century*, Mar., 1887, p. 340.

a. Monarchists: Legitimists. French Carlists. Naundorffists.

b. Bonapartists: Jeromists. Victoriens.

United Right, or Conservatives. About 180 members in the Lower House.

c. Conservative Republicans. Party of Center. About 60 in House.

d. Opportunists (Gambetta, Ferry). About 150 in House.

e. Extreme and Radical Republicans (Clemenceau, Floquet, Fréycinet), Party of Left. About 160 in House.

f. Intransigeants { Socialists. Communists.

g. Boulangists.

LECTURE XIX.

ITALY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY.

REFERENCES: *A. Gallenga: Italy, Present and Future. E. Dicey: Victor Emmanuel* (the New Plutarch series). *J. Theodore Bent: Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi. M. Francesco Crispi et sa politique, Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1889.

Area, 114,410 sq. mi., size of Arizona. Popul., about 30 m.

1. Italy in 1815. *Müller*, 23, 24. By the Congress of Vienna, Lombardy and Venetia were ceded to Austria.

a. In northern part of Italy the three duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena ruled by princes of the Hapsburg House, and the duchy of Lucca ruled by a Bourbon prince.

b. In central Italy, the Papal States.

c. Kingdom of Naples, called "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies," ruled by a Bourbon line. *Fyffe*, II, 178–180. *Lodge*, 631, 632.

d. Northwestern provinces, ruled by the King of Sardinia.

(1) History of the House of Savoy. *Dicey: Victor Emmanuel*, 18–25.

(2) In 1815, kingdom of Sardinia consisted of Sardinia, Piedmont, Savoy, Nice, Turin, and Genoa.

2. Reactionary policy and influence of Metternich in Italy after 1815. Austrian influence supreme. *Dicey: Victor Emmanuel*, 15–17. *Müller*, 23–28. *Lodge*, 643, 644.

a. Old constitutions re-established.

b. The inquisition.

c. Restriction of the press.

d. French ideas extirpated.

3. The Carbonari, in Naples and Sicily (1817), secret society. *Fyffe*, II, 180–182. *Lodge*, 644. *Müller*, 24, 25, 29, 129–131.

4. Attempts at revolution, 1820–21, 1831. Both suppressed by Austria. *Lodge*, 671.

"The revolution of 1831, which affected the States of the Church, Modena and Parma, had been suppressed, like the still earlier rebellions in Naples and Piedmont, by Austrian intervention. If revolution had fair play in Italy, it was sure of the victory. It was only foreign power for which it was not yet a match. Hence, all the hatred of the Italians was directed against foreign rule as the only obstacle to the freedom and unity of the peninsula. As in the times of Barbarossa and his grandson, so also in the forties the watchword was: 'Death to the Germans!' by which the Austrians were now meant. The secret societies and the exiles in communication with them—especially Joseph Mazzini, who issued his commands from London—took care that the national spirit should not be buried beneath material interests, but should remain ever wakeful." *Müller*, 202.

5. Political parties, 1840:

a. Red Republicans; Mazzini Society of Young Italy. *Fyffe*, II, 468. *Müller*, 170. *Lodge*, 692. Garibaldi, "*cuor d'oro, ma testa di bove.*"

"The Italian cause from the beginning was not political, but national. Its champions, from Dante to Alfieri, were all aristocrats. It was Mazzini who, in his impatience and self-conceit, raised the senseless cry, 'Dio e Popolo!' But Mazzini was not a democrat; he was an autocrat. Had he ever had his way, the cry, like Mahomet's, would have been, 'God is God, and Mazzini is His Prophet.'" *Gallenga*, I, 183.

b. Federalists. Federation with liberal constitutions favored by Pius IX (1846). *Fyffe*, II, 471–474. *Lodge*, 692.

c. Constitutional Monarchists. State a constitutional monarchy under the King of Sardinia, Charles Albert. *Fyffe*, II, 469, 470.

6. Revolution of 1848. *Müller*, 202–211.

a. In Sardinia, King Charles Albert leads the revolutionary movement. Constitution of 1848. War with Austria and defeat. Abdication of Charles Albert in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel. *Müller*, 208–211. *Lodge*, 693, 700.

b. Revolution in Rome; sympathy for Sardinians, and demand

that Pius IX declare war against Austria; refusal. *Lodge*, 633, 695. Republicans force the Pope to withdraw; French assistance to the Pope; French occupation.

c. Revolution in Naples. *Lodge*, 693.

d. General failure. *Lodge*, 700, 701.

"All Italy was again brought under its old masters. The expelled princes returned; the Austrians occupied Bologna and Ancona; and, owing to the valor of their armies and the skill of their generals, their dominion seemed invincible. The storm that had raged over the whole peninsula had subsided, and the Italian sun smiled once more; but Italian hatred of foreign rule grew ever darker and darker. They thought that they now knew the country which under more favorable constellations would renew the fight with Austria. Notwithstanding Custozza and Novara, the Savoyard cross continued to be the hope of Italy." *Müller*, 211.

7. Growth of Sardinia (Piedmont). *Lodge*, 717.

a. Siccardi laws, 1851. Abolition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

b. Cavour, Prime Minister, 1852. Policy of Sardinia's share in Crimean war, 1854–56.

"The keystone of Cavour's policy was a conviction that the freedom of Italy could only be achieved with external assistance. He made it his object to obtain for Piedmont the respect and the friendship of the European powers, and he sternly repressed the revolutionary projects of Mazzini and his associates, which alienated all upholders of orderly government." *Lodge*, 717.

c. Relations between Cavour and Napoleon III. France supports Sardinia in war against Austria, 1859. *Müller*, 275–291. *Lodge*, 719–721.

(1) Causes: Austria perceived that her influence in Italy was rapidly disappearing. Napoleon's foreign policy.

"A subscription was raised in the chief towns of the peninsula to assist in the fortification of Alessandria. Austria was bitterly exasperated, and the Austrian minister was recalled from Turin. It was evident that the struggle could not long be delayed. Sardinia could not hope to contend single-handed with Austria, and relied for assistance upon the sympathies of Napoleon III.

"Austria refused to allow that Sardinia should be represented at a Congress to settle the affairs of Italy, and finally sent an ultimatum to Turin demanding disarmament within three days, under penalty of immediate war. This was exactly what Cavour was waiting for." *Lodge*, 717, 719.

(2) Result. *Lodge*, 720. *Ploetz*, 502. Treaty of Zurich, 1859.

(*a*) Emperor of Austria ceded Lombardy to Napoleon III, who surrendered it to Sardinia.

(*b*) Italy to form a confederation under Presidency of Pope.

(*c*) Sovereigns of Tuscany and Modena who had been expelled were to be reinstated.

(*d*) Revolted portions of Papal States (Bologna) to be restored, "but without foreign intervention."

d. Last three provisions not observed. Uprising of Northern Italian people for union with Sardinia. Annexations. *Lodge*, 722. France takes Savoy and Nice. Garibaldi (Campaign of the One Thousand) overruns kingdom of the Two Sicilies. *Lodge*, 723, 724.

e. 1861, Victor Emmanuel assumed title of King of Italy; all Italy, except Venice and Rome, under his rule; Florence made the capital. Cavour died, June 6, 1861.

8. Italy as a kingdom.

a. 1861, the first Italian Parliament.

b. Italy allied with Prussia in war of 1866; Venetia added to Italy as a result. *Lodge*, 731.

c. 1871, French troops recalled from Rome during Franco-Prussian war; Victor Emmanuel seized Rome.

9. Political supremacy of Party of Left and Left Center, 1876; Rattazzi, Depretis, Crispi (1887). *Gallenga*, I, 189–195.

a. The condition of Sicily and Naples. *Secret Societies in the Two Sicilies; Fortnightly Review*, vol. 42, pp. 649–664.

10. "Italia Irredenta," 1878.

First alliance with Germany and Austro-Hungary.

11. Extension of suffrage, 1880–82; 2,112,563 electors instead of 621,896. *Gallenga*, I, 195–200.

12. Dissatisfaction with France; Tunis, 1881–.

a. Colonial policy. Assab (1883), and Massowah (1885). War with Abyssinia, 1887. *Gallenga*, I, chs. 3, 6. *Italy and Abyssinia; Westminster Review*, vol. 129, 1888, pp. 319–331.

13. Railway Legislation. *Hadley: Railroad Transportation*, ch xii.

14. The Triple League of Central Europe, 1887, probable terms. *Hazell*, 1888. *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1887, p. 617.

a. Prime Minister Crispi. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1889, p. 203.

15. Political parties.

a. The Ministerial Left: { Moderates. / Progressists. }

b. The Opposition Left, including some Socialists, Moderates, and Irredentists.

} Liberals.

c. The Right, Clericals. Conservatives.

(1) Attitude of Clericals. Policy of Abstention.

15. Government of Italy.

a. Constitutional monarchy. Constitution granted to Sardinia in 1848.

b. Executive. King, who rules by responsible ministers.

c. Legislature.

(1) Senate, composed of the princes of the royal house and of unlimited number of life members nominated by the king; "a condition of the nomination being that the person should either fill a high office, or have acquired fame in science, literature, or other pursuit tending to the benefit of the nation, or finally should pay taxes to the annual amount of about $600." Senate also has judicial powers.

(2) Chamber of Deputies, elected by ballot and by *scrutin de liste*, by citizens who can read and write and have a small property qualification. Members of either House unpaid, but travel free.

(3) Sits for five years; can be dissolved at any time by king, but he must convoke another within four months.

16. San Marino. Independent Republic since 11th century; 32 sq. mi.; 8000 people. Last treaty with Italy, 1872.

17. Education. Conventual property confiscated (1866) and used for schools. Compulsory primary education, under state control. Law of 1884. *Gallenga*, II, chs. 1, 6.

18. The position of the See of Rome.

a. The Supreme Pontiff. "By the terms of the royal decree of Oct. 9, 1870, which declared that 'Rome and the Roman provinces shall constitute an integral part of the kingdom of Italy,' the Pope or Roman Pontiff was acknowledged supreme head of the Church, preserving his former rank and dignity as a reigning prince, and all other prerogatives of independent sovereignty." *Statesman's Year Book*, 338.

b. College of Cardinals, limited in number to 70.

c. Sacred Congregations, at present twenty in number, the most famous being the Congregations of the Inquisition, Propaganda, Index, Indulgences, and Sacred Relics.

LECTURE XX.

SWITZERLAND, NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM.

A. Switzerland.

Area, 15,800 sq. mi.; popul., 3 m. 59 per cent of population Protestants; 41 per cent of population Catholics.

1. Increase of territory by Congress of Vienna. New constitution (1815) aristocratic, and tending to disunion. League of 22 Cantons. *Lodge*, 630, 669.

a. Neufchâtel, both Swiss and Prussian.

b. Domination of city patricians, 1815–30.

2. Revolution, 1830. City *vs.* County. Democratic success. "Siebener-Concordat" (1832). Liberal League overthrows "Sarner Bund." Conservative League, 1834. *Lodge*, 670. *Müller*, 127, 128, 169.

a. Liberal demand for Constitutional revision.

b. Right of Asylum.

c. Religious dissensions, 1834–45. *Müller*, 170. *Lodge*, 687.

3. Civil war between Liberal and Protestant Cantons, and Catholic and Conservative Cantons (Sonderbund), 1847. Overthrow of Sonderbund and establishment of a National Government in place of old League.

"All the cantons had to yield, and accept the conditions of peace which were dictated to them. Among these were payment of the expenses of the war, a change of government in the cantons, the dissolution of the *Sonderbund*, and the expulsion of the Jesuits. In a few weeks all was accomplished. Then the reform of the Helvetian constitution was proceeded with, and in 1848 the new federal state was established. The *Ständerath* forms a sort of upper house, which is to represent the governments of the several cantons; while the *Nationalrath* forms a lower house, which is elected by the people in proportion to the population. By this united congress the highest tribunal of Switzerland — the *Bundesrath* — is chosen, and at the head of this is a president." *Muller*, 172.

4. Culturkampf, 1873–80. Strength of Old Catholics in Switzerland. Liberal revision of Constitution accepted, 1874, in interest of educational and ecclesiastic reforms. *Müller*, 491, 492.

a. Clerical political agitation prohibited.
b. Freedom of burial.
c. Compulsory civil marriage.

5. The Railway Question, 1886–87.
a. The Tunnels. *Müller*, 609.

6. Government. Federal Republic. See §3, *ante.*
a. Nationalrath, 145 members, chosen by manhood suffrage.
b. Ständerath, two members from each canton.
The two chambers elect:
c. Bundesrath. Federal (Executive) Council, for three years.
d. President and Vice-President of Republic and Council, for one year.
e. Bundes-Gericht. Federal Tribunal, for six years.
f. The Referendum.

7. Local Government.
a. Cantonal Sovereignty.
b. The Landesgemeinde.

B. The Netherlands.

References: *T. C. Grattan: History of the Netherlands. J. T. Rogers: Holland* (Story of the Nations Series).

Area, 12,648 sq. mi.; popul., about 4½ m. Area of colonial possessions, 766,137 sq. mi. Population of colonial possessions, over 28 m.

1. 1795–1806, Batavian Republic.

2. Kingdom of Holland, 1806–15. Louis Bonaparte, king. England seizes colonial possessions of Holland.

3. 1815, Kingdom of the Netherlands equalled former Holland and Austrian Belgium; under William I.
a. Cape Colony and Ceylon retained by England.
b. Luxemburg given to personal charge of King of Holland, as head of family of Orange-Nassau. *Fyffe*, II, 387, 388.

"The kingdom of the Netherlands, created by the Congress of Vienna, had been formed by the enforced union of two utterly different elements, the Protestant commercial state of Holland, which was of like nationality with its sovereign, and the Catholic manufacturing country of Belgium, which was divided between the Flemish and Walloon nationalities, but was pervaded by French culture." *Ploetz*, 489.

4. Separation of Belgium, 1830. (See below.)

5. The Luxemburg Question, 1866–70. *Müller*, 369–371.
a. Again, from 1884 (death of Prince of Orange) to 1889.

6. Government. Constitutional hereditary monarchy, King, Ministry, and two Houses of the States-General. Liberal Constitution,

1814; revised in 1834–36, 1848–87. In 1887, extension of suffrage.

7. Local Government.

a. Communal Councils.

b. States Provincial.

8. Education.

9. Political parties and tendencies. Religious, theological, and educational questions, the main causes of difference.

a. Liberals, in control generally since 1815.

b. Anti-Liberals, Catholics and Orthodox (extreme) Protestants.

C. Belgium.

1. Separated from Holland, 1830. Nine provinces. Area, 11,373 sq. m.; popul., about 6 m.

2. Cause of the insurrection was the underlying discord always present between the two sections of the country. The two countries, Holland and Belgium, did not have the same language or the same religious or commercial interests. *Fyffe*, II, 381–390.

"The Belgians complained that they were saddled with part of the burden of the enormous national debt of Holland; that they contributed to the building of Dutch ships and other objects from which they derived no benefit whatever. Their discontent was also increased by the unpopular government of King William I, who treated Belgium like a conquered country." *Ewald*, 79.

"The antagonism between the northern and southern Netherlands, though not insuperable, was sufficiently great to make a harmonious union between the two countries a work of difficulty, and the Government of the Hague had not taken the right course to conciliate its opponents. The Belgians, though more numerous, were represented by fewer members in the National Assembly than the Dutch. Offices were filled by strangers from Holland; finance was governed by a regard for Dutch interests; and the Dutch language was made the official language for the whole kingdom. But the chief grievances were undoubtedly connected with the claims of the clerical party in Belgium to a monopoly of spiritual power and the exclusive control of education. The one really irreconcilable enemy of the Protestant House of Orange was the Church; and the governing impulse in the conflicts which preceded the dissolution of the kingdom of the Netherlands, in 1830, sprang from the same clerical interest which had thrown Belgium into revolt against the Emperor Joseph forty years before." *Fyffe*, II, 382. *Muller*, 112–121.

3. Independence was recognized by the foreign powers, and, in 1831, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen king; reigned until 1865.

4. Clericalism. Educational and political power of the clergy. *Müller*, 490, 604.

5. Culturkampf, 1878–. Liberals *vs.* Ultramontanes.

a. Liberal régime, 1878–84. Influence of French politics upon Belgium. *Müller*, 604–606.

(1) "Liberal" Education Act, 1879, deprived clergy of school supervision.

b. Clerical reaction, 1884. Partial control of primary education given to communes.

c. Agitation for universal suffrage, 1886. Industrial disturbances, 1886–87. *Hazell*, 43.

6. Political Parties.

a. Clericals (Catholics).

b. Liberals.

c. Radicals, Socialists, advanced Liberal programme. Constituency mainly unenfranchised.

7. Hereditary constitutional monarchy. Property qualification for suffrage. *Statesman's Year Book*, 35.

8. Relations of Belgium to France and Germany. *Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1887, pp. 24–28.

a. Luxemburg, upon the death of the present King of the Netherlands.

LECTURE XXI.

THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOMS.

A. Sweden and Norway.

References: *B. Moses: The Crown and Parliament of Sweden*, in *The Berkeley Quarterly*, Oct., 1880. *Home Rule in Norway, Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1888. *E. C. Otté: Scandinavian History* (to 1872). *H. H. Boyesen: Norway* (Story of the Nations Series). *J. W. Burgess: Recent Constitutional Crisis in Norway, Political Science Quarterly*, I, 259–294.

Area (Sweden), 170,979 sq. mi. Population, 4.7 m. (Norway), 123,205 sq. mi. Popul., about 2 m. Total area a little larger than Texas.

1. Union of Calmar, 1397; Sweden, Norway, and Denmark united under princes of Denmark. Independence of Sweden established under Gustavus Vasa, 1521–23.

a. Territory in 1800, Sweden, Finland, Pomerania.

2. Peace of Tilsit, 1807. Russia seizes Finland. Representative constitution established in Sweden, 1809; ancient Diet of the four classes, or estates, preserved. Napoleon's Marshal, Bernadotte, chosen Crown Prince of Sweden, 1810. *Lodge*, 598, 599.

a. The Four Estates. *Moses*, 8–11, 25.

3. Treaty of Kiel and Vienna, 1814. Loss of Pomerania. Acquisition of Norway from Denmark.

a. Norwegian resistance and claim of independence unsuccessful. *Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1888, p. 55.

"Union of the two kingdoms declared indissoluble and irrevocable without prejudice to the separate government, constitution, and code of laws of either Sweden or Norway." *Statesman's Year Book*, 482.

4. Constitutions and government.

a. Sweden, 1809, 1810, 1866. Hereditary constitutional monarchy. King must be a Lutheran, possesses legislative power in matters of political administration. Responsible ministry. Diet of two chambers, the first elected by provinces and municipalities.

b. Norway. Hereditary constitutional monarchy. Responsible ministry. King has only a suspensive veto on legislation, and is restricted in power of appointment to office. Large legislative and judicial powers of the Assembly, or Storthing, elected indirectly; meets annually.

c. Affairs common to the two nations decided in a Council of State, in which both nations are represented.

5. Abolition of nobility in Norway, 1821.

6. Agitation in Sweden for Constitutional Reform, 1840–66. New (and present) constitution, 1866. *Moses*, 32.

a. Compulsory military service, 1872.

7. Home rule in Norway. National resistance to Swedish proposals for closer union, 1821–30, 1836, 1839, 1857.

Not until 1865 were subjects of the two kingdoms allowed to settle and trade at will in either country.

8. Nationalist struggle to establish absolute supremacy of the Diet over the royal veto, 1872–84. *Nineteenth Century*, 58–61.

a. Influence of Norwegian emigrants to the United States.

b. Surrender of the King (the Sverdrup ministry), 1884.

c. Radicals (Bjoernsen), Liberals (Sverdrup), and Conservatives.

9. Agitation for extension of the suffrage in Sweden, 1880–.

B. Denmark.

References: *The Contemporary Review*, April, 1886, p. 579. *E. C. Otté: Scandinavian History* (to 1872). *E. C. Otté: Denmark and Iceland* (Foreign countries and British Colonies Series). *F. M. DeBorring: Notes from a Prosperous Agricultural Country, Fortnightly Review*, vol. 43, pp. 707–718.

Area, 14,124 sq. mi. Population, 2 m.

1. Question of succession to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. Danish success in the wars of 1848–51. *Ploetz*, 496. *Müller*, 218, 219, 245–247.

a. Incorporation of Schleswig. *Müller*, 309.

2. Excitement in Germany, 1863–64. Austria and Prussia seize the Duchies, 1864. *Müller*, 310–317.

3. Sympathy with France in 1870. *Müller*, 424.

4. Constitutional struggle between the Executive and the Lower House of the legislature concerning the responsibility of Ministers, 1876. *Contemporary Review*, 581–586.

5. Political attitude of Denmark towards Germany, *Müller*, 610, 611; towards England and Russia.

6. Government. Hereditary constitutional monarchy. Riksdag, or Parliament, two Houses. Upper House elected indirectly, represents in general the wealthy class. Lower House elected directly by universal suffrage.

7. Colonies. Area, 86,614 sq. mi. Population, 116,000.

a. Iceland, separate constitution and government, 1874. *Statesman's Year Book*, 52. *Otté: Denmark and Iceland*, ch. xiii.

LECTURE XXII.

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA: PORTUGAL, SPAIN.

A. Portugal (with Brazil).

References: *J. H. Harrison: History of Spain*, chs. xxv–xxviii. *J. R. Seeley: The Spanish Revolution*, in *The Life and Times of Stein*, pp. 71–102. *M. M. Busk: History of Spain and Portugal. W. E. Curtis: The Capitals of Spanish America. Anfriso Fialho: Don Pedro II, Empereur du Brésil. Spring Time in Portugal, Fortnightly Review*, vol. 43, pp. 483–493. *M. G. Llana: Political Parties in Spain, Fortnightly Review*, vol. 39, pp. 106–120. *H. M. Field: Old Spain and New Spain. Rev. Wentworth Webster: Spain* (Foreign Countries and British Colonies Series).

Area (including Azores and Madeira), 34,038 sq. mi. Population, 4,708,178. Area of colonial possessions, 705,258 sq. mi. Population, 3⅛ m. Former large colonial possessions diminished during period of subjection to Spain, 1580–1640.

1. Napoleon's forces (Junot) occupy Portugal, 1807; driven out by the English (Moore, Wellington), 1808–11; flight of Portuguese Court to Brazil, 1807. *Fialho*, 8. *Busk*, 261, 262, 267, 268–270.

   a. Cause of French occupation, a refusal to prohibit trade with England.

2. Portugal ruled from Brazil, 1807–21; supremacy of English influence in Portugal. *Yeats: Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce*, pp. 327, 328. *Müller*, 56.

   a. Uprising for a constitution, 1820, and return of the king, 1821. *Müller*, 57.

   b. Treaty with Brazil as an independent nation, 1825. "In a secret article it was ordained that the two crowns should never be united upon one head." *Müller*, 58.

3. Reactionary opposition to constitutional government (Queen Carlotta, Don Miguel), 1821–26.

4. Civil wars between Miguelists (Clericals, Reactionaries) and Pedrists (Queen Maria da Gloria, daughter of Don Pedro I of Brazil, elder brother of Miguel, Constitutionalists), 1826–34. Liberal Constitution, 1826. Interference of England; Miguelists and Spanish Carlists; defeat of Miguel, 1834. *Müller*, 58–61.

a. Conventual establishments suppressed and property confiscated, 1834.

5. Marriage of Maria da Gloria with Ferdinand of Coburg, April, 1836. The constitution disregarded; civil wars, 1836–51. Duke of Saldanha. Similarity of political movements in Spain and Portugal. *Müller*, 148.

6. Government. Constitution of 1826, revised 1852, 1878, 1885. Hereditary constitutional monarchy, responsible ministry; monarch has only suspensory veto upon acts of Cortes, or Parliament. Cortes, two chambers; Lower House chosen by citizens who can read and write and have an annual income of about $100, and by heads of families; Upper House, Peers. Law of 1885 provides for gradual abolition of hereditary peerages and substitution of elected life Peers. *Statesman's Year Book*, 387.

7. Brazil. Area, 3 m. sq. mi.; a little smaller than the United States; popul., about 12 m. A colony of Portugal after beginning of 16th century. Pope's Bull of 1493. *Ploetz*, 282. *Curtis*, 687.

a. Residence of Portuguese royal family in Brazil, 1808–21; *ante*, § 1, 2. Brazil declared a kingdom, 1815; dissatisfaction.

b. Dom Pedro I, eldest son of King, left as regent in Brazil, 1821; independence declared, 1822, and recognized by Portugal, 1825. *Müller*, 58. Struggle between the Liberals and the Emperor, 1825–31. "I will do everything for the people, but nothing by the people." Accession of Dom Pedro II, 1831. *Fialho*, 9–15.

c. Rapid progress of Brazil; suppression of slave trade, 1852. *Fialho*, 34. Assertion of strength against neighboring states, Buenos Ayres, 1852, Uruguay, 1863, Paraguay (overthrow of tyrant Lopez), 1865–70. *Fialho*, 42–56. *Müller*, 299.

(1) German and Swiss colonists in the southeast.

d. Culturkampf, 1873–75. Illegal measures of Catholic bishops against Free Masonry. *Fialho*, 74–80. *Müller*, 493, 654.

(1) Present attitude of Liberal party; the struggle about religious orders and their property. *Curtis*, 690–693.

e. The labor question. Abolition of slavery; first, slaves serving as soldiers in the Paraguayan war, 1867; second, gradual emancipation Act, 1872. Law of the "Free Birth." *Fialho*, 59–62. Third, wholesale emancipation by the province of Ceara, 1881; fourth, gradual emancipation Act, 1885. *Liberating the Slaves in Brazil; Nineteenth Century*, July, 1888, pp. 94–105. *Hazell: Brazil. Statesman's Year Book*, 575. *Curtis*, 702–706. Fifth, final emancipation Act, 1888. Over one million slaves set free.

f. Government. A hereditary constitutional empire since 1822. Dom Pedro I and the works of Benjamin Constant. The sovereign as a "Moderator"; responsible ministry; two Houses of legislature, both elected by people. *Lalor's Cyclopædia*, I, 306, 307. *Statesman's Year Book*, 567, 568.

B. Spain.

Area, 197,000 sq. mi.; popul., 17 m. Colonial area, 163,876 sq. mi. Colonial population, about 10 m.

1. Wretched condition of Spain prior to Napoleon's invasion, 1807. Godoy, "Prince of the Peace." *Harrison*, 614–627. Loss of Louisiana. *Harrison*, 621.

a. Spanish resistance to the Bonapartes, directed by England (Wellington), 1807–13.

b. By the Congress of Vienna, the Bourbons of the old dynasty were restored to power, and the government established by Napoleon was set aside. Strength and significance of popular resistance in Spain to Napoleon. *Seeley*, 74–84. *Harrison*, 632–644.

c. Liberal Constitution, established by the National Cortes, 1812, under English influence, ignored after the Restoration.

"This constitution inaugurated representative government in Spain, abolished torture, the Inquisition, and most of the convents, founded the liberty of the citizen and the press, and improved the judiciary. The seignorial rights attached to 13,309 out of the 25,320 villages of the peninsula were abolished, and though the nine thousand men's convents of 1626 had fallen to two thousand and fifty in 1808, these were considerably reduced. But unfortunately this brilliant constitution died even before it was born, and was succeeded by an absolute monarchy which utterly crushed it." *Harrison*, 643.

2. Ferdinand VII, restored in 1814. Character. *Harrison*, 645–653. *Müller*, 43, 44. *Grant Duff*, 5. Rule of the "Serviles." Influence of the *Camarilla*, courtiers, and priests. Despotism. Bitter opposition to the Constitutionalists. 50,000 political prisoners.

a. Revolution in 1820. Ferdinand forced to swear obedience to the constitution of 1812.

"The patriots of 1812 could no longer endure in patience the pain and need of their country, and their rage discharged itself, in the years 1814 to 1819, in nine attempts at revolution, which, as the work of individuals, and representing little force, collapsed like riots, and were suppressed with little trouble." *Muller*, 44.

b. Interference by the Holy Alliance. Intervention and invasion of the French, 1823, to support Ferdinand in his contest with the Cortes. Constitutional government defeated. *Müller*, 48–50.

c. Revolt of American colonies, 1810–24. *Müller*, 54, 55.

3. Death of Ferdinand, 1833. *Müller*, 53. *Lodge*, 679. Civil war, 1833–40. *Müller*, 143–146. Isabella II, daughter of Ferdinand, supported by the constitutional party. The repeal of the Salic law. *Müller*, 53. The Estatuto Real, 1834. *Harrison*, 665, 666.

a. The Queen Regency. Revolt of the Carlists, supporters of Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand, or Absolutists. The Carlist provinces. *Harrison*, 655–661. Overthrow of Carlists by Espartero, 1839. *Harrison*, 673, 674. *Müller*, 144, 145.

b. 1837, the Queen Regent (Christina) took the oath to support the revised constitution. *Müller*, 146. *Grant Duff*, 8.

c. Continued insurrections. *Grant Duff*, 10–13.

d. Espartero, Regent, 1840–43.

e. 1843, Isabella declared of age and assumed the government. Recall of Christina, who had fled in disgrace to France in 1840.

"Thereby gate and doors were opened to the French influence, and the game of intrigue and reaction commenced. In 1845, the constitution of 1848 was altered in the interests of absolutism. The freedom of the press was restricted, the national guard abolished, and the Cortes relegated to an existence even more nominal than that of the French Chambers." *Muller*, 147.

f. Divisions of the Liberal or Constitutional party at this time.

(1) Progresistas (Espartero). The Constitution of 1837. English sympathy.

(2) Union-Liberal. O'Donnell.

(3) Moderados (Narvaez). The Estatuto Real. Under influence of Louis Philippe's government.

(4) Democratic Progresistas (Republicans, Socialists).

g. Supremacy of Narvaez, friend of Christina, 1844–51. Isabella's marriage and the French policy. *Lodge*, 680. Reactionary constitution, 1845.

"We have already seen that the constitution of 1837 was less liberal than that of 1812. That of 1845 was in its turn far less liberal than its predecessor. The liberty of the press was curtailed; the Senate became a nominated, not an elective, body; the Cortes lost its right of assembling by its own authority, in case the Sovereign neglected to summon it at the proper time; and the principle of the national sovereignty disappeared from the preamble. The most significant change, however, in the circumstances of the hour, was that which precluded the necessity of the approbation of the Cortes as a preliminary to the royal marriage. This was the event which was the pivot of intrigue for several years." *Grant Duff*, 15, 16.

(1) Catholic-Absolutist triumph, 1851–54. *Harrison*, 682.

h. Revolt of 1854. Espartero and O'Donnell, 1854–63. New liberal Constitution, 1855. Resistance of Queen and Court party. Character of Isabella. *Harrison*, 685–690, 691–693.

i. Triumph of Court party, 1863–68. Frequent unsuccessful pronunciamentos, O'Donnell, Prim, Serrano. Absolute power of the Clericals. Reign of terror, 1866–68. *Harrison*, 694, 695.

j. Insurrection in 1868. Despotism of Isabella and rule of bigotry. *Müller*, 406. *Lodge*, 733. Isabella obliged to escape to France. Cortes of 1869, a new constitution. Serrano's Regency, 1868–70. Aims of Republicans. *Harrison*, 695–697. Prim and Castelar. *Llano*, 106–108. *Field*, ch. ix. First Protestant Spanish religious service, Madrid, March 28, 1869.

(1) Search for a king. Prince of Hohenzollern offered the throne. The Franco-Prussian war.

4. Amadeo, the second son of Victor Emmanuel of Italy, elected king, 1870–73. *Müller*, 478. *Lodge*, 738. *Harrison*, 699.

"Amadeo's government, under which Serrano was the first minister-president, was one continued scramble for office on the part of the regular monarchists, while the Carlists and Republicans busied themselves in organizing insurrections in the north and south respectively. Serrano and Topete, Sagasta and Zorrilla, gained and lost office with confusing rapidity. The king held fast to the constitution of 1869, but was bitterly hated by the powerful nobles and the clergy as a stranger, and the son of Victor Emmanuel." *Muller*, 478.

Finally forced to abdicate.

5. Republic, 1873–75. Numerous civil wars.

"The programme of the new rulers was: a federative republic for Spain, with self-government of the individual states, after the pattern of Switzerland and the United States; no centralization; abolition of the standing army; absolute separation of the Church and State; proclamation of the rights of the individual on the basis of a democratic constitution and under the authority of the law." *Muller*, 479.

Four contesting parties.— Moderate Republicans, Radical Republicans, Communists, Legitimists.

a. Presidents, Pi y Margall, Salmeron, 1873. Castelar, 1873, resigned after a military *coup d'état*, 1874. *Müller*, 479, 480.

b. Serrano, military dictator, 1874. *Müller*, 480.

6. Alphonso XII, son of Queen Isabella, 1875–85. Continued revolts of the Carlists. Final suppression, 1876. *Müller*, 599–601. New Liberal Constitution (present one), 1876.

a. Conservative Ministry of Canovas, 1874–81. *Müller*, 600, 601. *Llano*, 112–114.

b. Formation of Liberal party of the Dynastic Left by Serrano and Sagasta, 1881. *Llano*, 114–120.

7. Alphonso XIII, 1886. Regency of the Queen. *Field*, ch. vii. Sagasta's administration. Reforms. Colonial Minister authorized to abolish slavery, July 30, 1886.

8. Spanish Political Parties.

(1) Moderate Liberals (Sagasta, Moret).
(2) Democrats (Martos).
(3) Centralists.
(4) Dissidents (Marquis de la Vega de Armijo).
(5) Pacific Republicans, or Possibilists (Salmeron, Castelar).
} Ministerialists.

(6) Conservatives (Canovas del Castillo).
(7) Liberal Reformers (Robledo, Dominguez).
(8) Intransigentes, Republicans (Zorrilla).
} Opposition.

(9) Autonomists, Federalist Republicans, Carlists.

9. Government, and Constitution of 1876. *Webster*, 162–169.

a. Monarchy, controlled by a constitution. Responsible ministers.

b. The Legislative power is the Cortes, composed of a Senate and Congress which are equal in authority. Senate composed of hereditary, official, and elected members.

c. Local institutions. The Republic of Andorra.

10. Colonies. The Cuban Question.

a. Relations with Morocco.

b. Gibraltar.

11. Condition of Education and Religion. *Webster*, ch. vii. *Field*, ch. xvii.

12. Financial policy. The Tariff Question. *Webster*, 174–180, 231–235.

LECTURE XXIII.

SPANISH AMERICA;

OR, THE REVOLTED COLONIES OF SPAIN.

REFERENCES: *William Eleroy Curtis: The Capitals of Spanish America. Lalor: Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and United States History. D. A. Wells: A Study of Mexico. Florence C. Baylor: Hidalgo, the Washington of Mexico; New Princeton Review*, 1888. *C. B. Heller: Reisen in Mexiko, in den Jahren* 1845–48. *J. F. Elton: With the French in Mexico. Antonio Garcia Cubas: The Republic of Mexico in* 1876 (translated by *G. E. Henderson*). *Edouard Sève: Le Chili Tel Qu'il Est. K. B. Murray: Commercial Geography*, pp. 150–163. *H. W. Bates: Central and South America* (Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel). *Laurence Oliphant: Patriots and Filibusters*, pp. 170–242. *C. W. Doubleday: Reminiscences of the Filibuster War in Nicaragua. Geo. F. Tucker: The Monroe Doctrine.*

A. MEXICO.

Area, 742,000 sq. mi.; or one fourth of the United States, excluding Alaska; popul., over 10 m.

1. Colonial period. Authentic history dates from 1521. Until 1821, a province of Spain.

"During these three centuries the attitude of the masses was one rather of sullen submission than of active resistance to grinding oppression."

Valued by Spain simply on account of its metals. Country worked for the benefit of the Spanish crown. System of *repartimentos*, or distribution of the aborigines on the plantations and in the mines. *Wells: Study of Mexico*, ch. 3.

2. Revolt in 1810 under Hidalgo. *Wells*, 67. "Liberator," Iturbide. *Curtis*, 9–13. Independence declared in 1821.

3. Mexico as an independent nation, 1821–.

a. Revolutionary spirit throughout the whole period. Anarchy. Dictatorships.

"Since the establishment of her independence in 1821, Mexico, down to the year 1844,— a period of sixty-three years,— has had fifty-five presidents, two emperors, and one regency, and, with some three or four exceptions, there was a violent change of the government with every new administration." *Wells*, 69.

b. Constitution adopted in 1824, modelled after that of the United States. 19 states and 5 territories. Gen. Santa Anna, 1824–57. Revolt of Texas, 1835–36.

c. War with United States in 1846, by which Mexico lost nearly one half her territory.

d. Reforms introduced to correct prevailing evils. Amended constitution, and "War of Reform" for three years, 1857–60. Triumph of Liberal Party under Benito Juarez. Financial embarrassment.

e. 1861, suspension of specie payments. Obligations largely held in Europe. Interference of France, England, and Spain. Napoleon's ambition to obtain power. England and Spain withdrew. In 1863, the French army entered Mexico, and established an hereditary monarchy. Archduke Maximilian of Austria made emperor.

f. Demand of the United States, upon the close of the civil war, that the French troops withdraw from Mexico. Monroe doctrine. Compliance, and fall of Maximilian. In 1867, the Emperor captured and shot.

g. Presidency of Juarez (died 1872). Confiscation of church property. Banishment of religious orders (Jesuits); civil marriage obligatory. Supremacy of Liberals since 1867. Juarez, 1867–72. Lerdo de Tejada, 1872–76. Porfirio Diaz, 1876–80. Manuel Gonzalez, 1880–84. Porfirio Diaz, 1884–88, 1888–. *Curtis*, 26–32.

4. Political Parties. Liberals and Clericals.

a. The Indian race. *Cubas*, 61–64. *Bates*, 26–28, 84, 85. *Wells*, ch. v.

5. Government of Mexico. A republic of 27 states, 1 territory, and 1 Federal District. Similar to that of the United States.

6. Indebtedness and financial distress. Railway connection with the United States. Influence of the United States and of European nations. *Wells*, chs. x and xi.

7. Ship Railway scheme. Across Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in southern Mexico. Captain Eads.

B. Central America.

1. Composed of five republics: Costa Rica, 23,200 sq. mi.; popul., 203,780. Guatemala, 46,800 sq. mi.; popul., 1,400,000. Honduras, 46,400 sq. mi.; popul., 460,000. Nicaragua, 49,500 sq. mi.; popul., 275,815. Salvador, 7225 sq. mi.; popul., 651,130. Total popul., about 3 m.

2. Acquired their independence in the first part of this century, Salvador and Guatemala taking the lead in 1821, and endeavoring to found the Federal Republic of Central America. Frequent attempts to unite them under one government as a confederation; but, with exception of a short period, unsuccessful.

3. Clericals *vs.* Liberals. Morazan, Carera, 1840–70. *Curtis*, 79, 80, 135–137.

a. José Rufino Barrios, President of Guatemala, 1873–85.

(1) Overthrow of the Clericals.

(2) Compulsory Education.

(3) Development of trade.

(4) Encouragement of immigration.

(5) A Central American Union. *Curtis*, 75–78, 81–88, 103–113.

4. Relations of United States and England to Nicaragua, 1848–60.

a. Walker, the filibuster, 1854–57. *Oliphant*, 195–210. *Doubleday*, ch. xi.

b. Nicaragua Canal project. Scheme revived in 1879. Treaty with the United States proposed (1884), by which the United States was to be empowered to build a canal. English objections based upon Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. Activity of Nicaragua Canal Co. (U. S.), 1888–89. *Tucker*, ch. v.

5. Indian supremacy in San Salvador. *Bates*, 120. *Curtis*, 176–178, 187.

6. Costa Rica, "Mañana." Tomas Guardia, 1872. *Curtis*, 204–212, 219–223.

C. Northeastern South America.

Colombia: area, 504,773 sq. mi.; popul., about 4 m. Venezuela: area, 632,695 sq. mi.; popul., over 2 m. Ecuador: area, 248,370 sq. mi.; popul., over 1 m.

1. Revolts from Spain began, 1810. Simon Bolivar, a Venezuelan. *Curtis*, 266, 269.

a. The Monroe Doctrine, Dec. 2, 1823.

2. Federal form of government in Colombia. Triumph of Centralization in 1886–87. *Curtis*, 255, 256.

3. Panama Canal project. In 1878, government of United States of Colombia granted concession to a company to build a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the Isthmus of Panama. De Lesseps interested. Financial failure, 1888–89.

4. Overthrow of clerical domination in Venezuela, 1874. Guzman Blanco. *Curtis*, 269, 270, 275, 286–291.

5. Ecuador, dissociated since 1831 from Colombia and Venezuela. Political anarchy since 1874. "It is the only country in America in which the Romish church survives as the Spaniards left it." No railroads, no coaches, no wagon roads, no secular schools, one newspaper, one telegraph line. *Curtis*, 306–308, 317–319, 333–337, 341.

D. The Western South American Republics.

Peru: area, about 500,000 sq. mi.; popul., about 3 m. Bolivia: area, about 800,000 sq. mi.; popul., about 2½ m. Chili: area, about 293,970 sq. mi.; popul., about 2½ m.

1. Peru declared independence, 1821, won it (San Martin, Cochrane), 1824.

2. Overthrow of clerical supremacy, 1869–76. *Curtis*, 361.

3. Defeat and ruin of Peru in the "saltpetre war," by Chili against Peru and Bolivia, 1879–83. Futile interference of the United States (Sec. Blaine), 1882. Cession to Chili of southern provinces, rich in guano, nitrate of soda, and silver. *Lalor*, III, 164–166. *Curtis*, 388–401, 431–438.

a. Financial depression; worthless paper currency. "You give a $20 bill to your boot black, and $250 an hour for a hack. It costs about $600 a day for board at the hotel, and $50 for a bunch of cigarettes." *Curtis*, 365.

b. Revival of clerical influence. *Curtis*, 493.

4. Henry Meiggs. Present condition of the Oroya Railway and the silver mines. *Curtis*, 401–409, 419.

5. Lack of organization in Bolivia. Succession of military dictatorships. Loss of sea coast to Chili, 1879. Priestly supremacy. Bo-

livia and Ecuador are the only Spanish American nations now under political control of the priesthood. *Curtis*, 442–451, 493.

a. Relations with the Argentine Republic. *Curtis*, 512.

6. Chilian independence declared, 1810; war, 1810–18. An aggressive, united nation. "There has not been a successful revolution in Chili since 1839." *Curtis*, 475.

a. Acquisition of guano and nitrate districts by war from Bolivia and Peru, 1879–83, and of jurisdiction over Straits of Magellan by treaty with the Argentine Republic, 1881. *Curtis*, 472–476.

b. Hostility towards the United States. *Curtis*, 455.

7. The Culturkampf in Chili. *Curtis*, 493–496.

C. The Southeastern Republics.

The Argentine Confederation: area, 1,125,086 sq. mi.; popul., $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. Paraguay: area, 91,970 sq. mi.; popul., $\frac{1}{4}$ m. Uruguay: area, 72,150 sq. mi.; popul., over $\frac{1}{2}$ m.

1. War for independence in the La Plata region, 1810–19. Continued importance of the State of La Plata and its capital city, Buenos Ayres. Blancos and Colorados. The Gauchos. *Lalor*, I, 114. *Curtis*, 570–572. *Bates*, 392–396.

a. Dictatorship of Rosas, 1829–52. *Curtis*, 572–574.

b. Conflicts between Buenos Ayres and other parts of the confederacy. Constitution of 1853; revised, 1860. Enormous progress since 1860.

(1) Immigration and trade. *Curtis*, 569, 581–590.

(2) Relations with Chili. *Curtis*, 528, 529.

(3) Relations with the United States. *Curtis*, 550–559.

2. Paraguay. Ruled by Jesuits, under suzerainty of Spain, 1611–1767. Revolt from Spain, 1811. Dictatorship of Francia, 1811–40; policy of isolation. *Lalor*, III, 49.

a. Lopez I and II, 1842–70; brutal tyranny. Ruinous war with Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and the Colorado party of Uruguay, 1864–70. *Curtis*, 624–627.

3. Uruguay (Banda Oriental). After revolt from Spain controlled by Brazil until 1825; 1830–72, almost continual revolution and civil war.

a. Trade and commerce. *Curtis*, 599–601.

b. Conflict with clerical influence. *Curtis*, 612–614.

LECTURE XXIV.

THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

COLONIZATION AND CURRENTS OF EMIGRATION.

REFERENCES: *Keith Johnston: Africa*, Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel). *C. P. Lucas: Historical Geography of the British Colonies. H. M. Stanley: The Congo and the Founding of its Free State. Daniel De Leon: The Conference at Berlin on the West African Question, Political Science Quarterly*, I, 103–139. *E. De Amicis: Morocco, its People, and Places. E. W. Blyden: Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race. A. B. Wylde: '83 to '87 in the Soudan. John Eliot Bowen: The Conflict of East and West in Egypt, Political Science Quarterly*, I, 295–335, 449–490, 636–677, *with bibliography*, pp. 676, 677. *O. Crawfurd: Slavery in East Central Africa, Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1888. *H. H. Johnston: British East Africa, Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1888. *England, Germany and the Slave Trade, Spectator*, Nov. 3, 1888. *W. M. Torrens: The East African Slave Trade, Fortnightly Review*, vol. 43, 691. *Joseph Thomson: Mohammedanism in Central Africa, Contemporary Review*, Dec., 1886, p. 876. *R. Bosworth Smith: Mohammedanism in Africa, Nineteenth Century*, vol. 22, 791. *Grant Allen: A Glance at North Africa; Canon MacColl: Islam and Civilization, Contemporary Review*, April, 1888, pp. 526–559.

Area, nearly 12 m. sq. mi.; popul., estimated from 60 m. to 200 m.

A. THE DIVISION OF A CONTINENT.

1. Share of the Turkish Sultan.

   a. Tripoli (including Barca and Fezzan); Turkish authority reasserted, 1835; Turkish garrison strengthened since French occupation of Tunis; power of politico-religious fraternities; the Senoosiya, 1830–; claims of France and Italy

b. Egypt and the Soudan. 1805–49, destruction of feudal régime of the Mamelukes; rule of the Albanian, Mehemet Ali, whose great grandson, Tewfik, is now Khedive. Conquest of the Soudan, 1870–73; its revolt (Al Mahdi) 1881–; *Political Science Quarterly*, I, 626–645. Gordon at Khartoum, 1884–85. *Political Science Quarterly*, 653–659. Emin Pasha (Dr. Schnitzler), at Wadelai, on Lake Albert Nyanza. Stanley's expeditions, 1887–89.

(1) Interferences of England; to drive out the French, 1801; to check Mehemet Ali, 1840; to purchase the Khedive's Suez Canal shares (nearly half the whole),1875. *Bright*, iv, 516, 517. To manage (together with France) Egyptian finances, 1875–76. *Political Science Quarterly*, I, 314–334. To suppress Arabi Pasha's rebellion, 1882, (end of the dual control). *Political Science Quarterly*, I, 474–484, 487. To check the Mahdists (Khartoum, Suakim), 1884–. "She has shrunk all along from the final step of annexation, but she remains the virtual suzerain of Egypt." *Political Science Quarterly*, I, 674–676. For unfavorable view of England's present policy in the Soudan, see *Wylde*, II, ch. viii.

2. Share of England. (Lecture V.) *Lucas*, 111. Imperial British East African Co. in Zanzibar. *H. H. Johnston.* Egypt (*ante*, § 1, and Lecture XIV).

3. Share of Italy. Massowah given up by Egypt, 1885–86; troubles with Abyssinia. (Lecture XIX.) *Wylde*, I, 340–342.

4. Share of France. Algiers and Tunis, the Senegal valley and coast, 1856–88; French Congo (De Brazza), and (assumed) protectorate of Madagascar. *Lebon: France As It Is*, 895–300, 303–307. (Lecture XVIII.)

5. Share of Spain. The future of Morocco; its people. *De Amicis*, 280–284. Area, about 219,000 sq. mi.; popul., estimated from 2½ m. to 8 m. *Grant Allen*, 533–536. Powers of foreign consuls at Tangiers.

6. Share of Portugal. Lower Guinea and Mozambique; undeveloped.

7. Share of Germany. The Kameroons, Damaraland, and, on the coast of Zanzibar, concessions to the German East African Company.

(1) German East African Company and the Arabian slave traders, 1888–89.

8. Independent states.

a. Morocco, see *ante*, § 5.

b. Liberia, founded 1822, by American Colonization Society. Republic on model of United States. *E. W. Blyden*, 221–223, 228–253, 392–432.

c. Congo Free State. The African International Association, 1877. Stanley's Explorations, 1879–84. *Stanley*, I, chs. ii and iv.

(1) International Congo Conference, Berlin, Feb., 1885. The state defined, declared neutral and free to trade of all nations; controls valley and mouth of Congo. Area, over 1 m. sq. mi.; popul., 27 m. *Stanley*, II, ch. xxxviii.

d. The Dutch Republics. (Lecture V.)

e. Madagascar. (*Ante*, § 4, Lecture XVIII.)

f. Zanzibar, subject to Muscat, 1784–1870; since 1870 independent. Limits determined, 1886–87, by Joint Commission (Great Britain, Germany, and France).

g. Abyssinia (Habesh, Ethiopia). Estimated area, 150,000 sq. m.; popul., 3 m. Group of semi-independent states. Christianized about 329.

(1) Theodore, 1855–68, takes title of Negoosa Negust, that is, King of Kings. English influence and missionaries. War with England, 1867–68. *Bright*, iv, 436–438.

(2) King John II, 1872–; "His Majesty Johannis, made by the Almighty King of Sion Negoosa Negust of Ethiopia and its dependencies." Hewett's Treaty.

(*a*) Repel's Egyptian invasion, 1875–77. *Wylde*, I, 312–329.

(*b*) Treaties of alliance with Egypt and England against the Mahdists, and against the slave trade (Hewett's Treaty), 1884. *Wylde*, II, 38–65, 304–309.

(3) The people. *Wylde*, I, chs. x–xv.

h. Central African States. In Guinea, Ashantee (wars with England, 1864, 1873. *Bright*, iv, 372, 497–499), and Dahomey. In Eastern Africa, Uganda, the Gallas, and Somalis. In Southern Africa, Hottentots, and Kaffirs. In Central Africa, Mandingoes, Bornous, Foulahs, and the tribes of the Eastern Soudan. *Blyden*, 312, 350, 356.

"We must not lose sight of the fact that there were many races in Africa — that the typical Negro with prognathous jaw and woolly hair, who has been so eagerly sought as a slave in all ages, is quite as distinct from the Kaffir, and from many of the races described by travellers in the interior, as from the diminutive Bushman, the feeble remnant of an older race now extinct." *Blyden*, 317.

B. The Slave Trade and Mohammedanism.

1. The extent of Islam in Africa. Its civilizing powers. Varieties. The Mahdis. See especially, *Bosworth Smith*, 795, and *Blyden*, 199–216, 350–378.

"Whatever may be the case in Arabia, there is an irrepressible activity — intellectual, commercial, political, and religious — among the adherents of the creed in Nigritia." *Blyden*, 377.

2. The competition of Islam and Christianity. For faulty methods of the latter, see *Thomson;* but for general presentation of the subject, see *Blyden*, 1–53, 277–297.

3. The Trans-Arabian slave-traffic. Importance of the outlets at Suakim, Massowah, and Zanzibar. *Spectator*, Nov. 3, 1888.

a. Reasons for Egyptian failure to control the Soudan and suppress the slave-trade. *Wylde*, II, 65–68.

b. Complicity of Turkey and responsibility of England. *Wylde*, II, 242–266.

4. The Trans-Sahara slave traffic. Crusade of Cardinal Lavigerie of Algiers, 1888.

C. Colonial Empires of Today, and the Routes of Trade.

1. England, France, Holland, Portugal, Germany, Spain, Denmark, and Italy. (Map exercise). *Lucas*, chs. vi, vii, with maps.

2. The world's commerce. *K B. Murray: Commercial Geography*, pp. 15–19; especially 89–113. *John Yeats: Recent and Existing Commerce*, part iv.

D. Currents of Emigration.

1. Most important inter-continental emigration is from Germany, Scandinavia, Great Britain, Italy, and China to the United States, Argentine Republic, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Brazil, Uruguay, and the Pacific Ilands.

For study of emigration from nearly all European countries, see *United States Consular Reports*, vol. xxii, 1887, No. 76. For Denmark, *Consular Reports*, 1884, pp. 672–675. Report of German Imperial Emigrant Commissioner, *Consular Reports*, vol. xxvi, 1888, pp. 233–239. See also *Richmond Smith: The Control of Immigration, Political Science Quarterly*, vol. iii; also same authority on *The Influence of Immigration on the United States of America, Bulletin de L'Institut International de Statistique*, tome iii, 2ème livre, 1888.

Total immigration into the United States, 1820–87, about 14 m. Of these about 6 m. were from the British Ilands. Largest number in one year, 788,992 in 1882. Total immigration into the United

States from China, 1855–87, 274,458, of whom probably one half have returned to China. For Chinese in Australia, see *Sir John Pope Hennessey: The Chinese in Australia*, *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 23, p. 617.

2. Most important trans-continental emigration is in the United States and Canada towards the West, and into the United States from all parts of British America; and, in Russia, to the East and South (Siberia and the coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas). *Walker and Gannett's Report on the Progress of the Nation*, in *Rand's Selections Illustrating Economic History*, pp. 286–307. See also *Tenth United States Census*, vol. i.

Boston Public Library
Central Library, Copley Square

Division of
Reference and Research Services

The Date Due Card in the pocket indicates the date on or before which this book should be returned to the Library.

Please do not remove cards from this pocket.

(Dec., 1888, 20,000)

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

One volume allowed at a time, and obtained only by card; to be kept 14 days (or seven days in the case of fiction and juvenile books published within one year) without fine; not to be renewed; to be reclaimed by messenger after 21 days, who will collect 20 cents besides fine of 2 cents a day, including Sundays and holidays; not to be lent out of the borrower's household, and not to be transferred; to be returned at this Hall.

Borrowers finding this book mutilated or unwarrantably defaced, are expected to report it; and also any undue delay in the delivery of books.

***No claim can be established because of the failure of any notice, to or from the Library, through the mail.

The record below must not be made or altered by borrower.